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Memoirs of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by

George V. Lomonossoff

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Memoirs *of the* Russian Revolution

By

GEORGE V. LOMONOSSOFF

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RUSSIAN RAILWAYS, CHIEF OF THE OFFICE OF EXPERIMENTS, MEMBER OF THE RUSSIAN EXTRAORDINARY MISSION AND CHIEF ENVOY OF THE RUSSIAN MINISTRY OF WAYS OF COMMUNICATION TO THE UNITED STATES, MEMBER OF THE SUPREME ENGINEERING SOVIET, PROFESSOR, KIEFF POLITECHNICUM, WARSAW UNIVERSITY, PETROGRAD INSTITUTE OF WAYS OF COMMUNICATION.

Authorized Translation
By D. H. Dubrowsky and Robert T. Williams.

Prof. G. V. Lomonossoff

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Foreword

Immediately after the March Revolution, I made some notes concerning what I had personally witnessed. These memoranda I took with me to America but so successfully mislaid them among my books that I was not able to locate them until August 2, 1918. I read them then to my friends in Chicago. They insisted and still insist that I publish these recollections. To be frank, I could hardly consent to it; my views have somewhat radically changed in the last two years and I have a strong desire to correct some of my memoranda and to change others entirely. Nevertheless, I have not done this. If my memoirs have any historical value, it is only in the way in which they were first recorded. An historian is interested not only in the naked facts, but also in the way in which these facts reacted on the men of their time.

Nevertheless, in some places, I have considered it necessary to make some additional remarks which are the result of my later ideas and of the later experiences of my life.

G. V. L.
May 9, 1919,
New York City.

351917

Memoirs of the Russian Revolution

PRECEDING DAYS

I arrived at Tzarskoye Sielo from the Roumanian front on February 20, 1917. At the front, life was running its normal course. There was plenty of ammunition but a scarcity of food. The average amount of food received from Roumania was about 60% of the apportionment but in various places this amount was sometimes lower than 20%. Dead horses had to be eaten. The railroads, on account of the dreadful condition of the locomotives, began to become paralyzed. I do not know where it was worse, at the Roumanian front or on our own southwestern railways. The Ministry hated to listen to the truth about existing conditions and in this respect the General Staff was braver.

The extent of the paralysis of the railroads at the Roumanian front can be seen from the fact that they were compelled to stop the sanitary trains and instead ship the wounded in the freight cars which had been emptied of provisions sent to the front. The thermometer registered 14 degrees below zero and many of the wounded froze to death in these unheated cars. To reintroduce the sanitary trains meant to stop the supply of provisions to the army of unwounded. General Sacharoff finally solved this question in these words: "Let them die, if they are compelled to be out of the firing line."

Under such conditions, discontent in the army practically took place as a natural result. It is interesting to note that, as far as I heard, this discontent was directed almost entirely against the Tzar, and particularly against the Tzarina. Among the General Headquarter's Staff, the Tzarina was never spared They spoke quite openly of imprisoning her and also of forcing Nicholas to abdicate. This kind of conversation was commonly heard even at the officers' messes. But always, during this kind of talk, the most usual opinion seemed to be "Court Revolution," like the murder of Paul.

With the soldiers at the front I could hardly talk: my general's shoulder straps did not allow them to be quite open in their conversation. I remember that on the way to Roumania, at one of the railroad stations, I met an acquaintance of mine,

a soldier, who was a well-to-do Poltava peasant, an honest monarchist and a man of considerable common sense. We talked. At that time, the daily topic was the murder of Rasputin and our conversation naturally turned toward the same thing. I can even now see before me the sad, bewildered eyes of my friend and hear his sad voice as he asked me:

"Tell me, you live in the Tzarskoye Sielo, tell me, I ask you, how could the Tzar stand for such a nuisance in his own house?"

I could only shrug my shoulders.

"I am only a plain peasant, but I would not allow such disgrace. And he is an Emperor. Do you understand the word? Emperor! For him we spill here our blood. Not for him? For whom, then?" And then, thinking a few seconds, he added, "Is he worth it?"

The murder of Rasputin agitated the minds of the people in general at that time. I remember another incident at the Yassa railroad station. Winter morning was dawning; slowly a train moved into the station. Pourishkevitch was walking back and forth on the platform. He had just put up the provisioning huts (much will be forgiven him for this). The officers and soldiers began to pour out of the cars. Among them could be seen a Cossack officer who stood out a head taller than all the rest—a fellow who must have weighed about four hundred pounds. He noticed Pourishkevitch, stopped, looked at him, grunted, and then slowly rolled toward him.

"Are you Pourishkevitch?"

"Yes."

"In the name of the Russian army, let me shake your honorable hand: you killed Rasputin."

"But. . . ."

"Don't be modest. All Russia knows. Hooray for Pourishkevitch and all those that killed this damnable dog. . . . ."

"Hooray!" thundered throughout the length of the platform.

On the twentieth of February, at noon, I arrived at Tzarskoye Sielo. It was a clear, cold day. My wife met me at the station; we took a cab and went home. According to the tariff, I should have paid the cabman 35 kopecks, but in view of the hardships of war-time, I gave him half a rouble, (50 kopecks). Only two months before, they were extremely thankful for such a tip; but here the cabman tossed the half-rouble up and down

in his hand and glared at it. My wife, realizing what was the matter, excitedly told me:

"You are insane. Give him a rouble."

"A rouble?"

"Yes; we have been paying that rate for quite a while. Oats have quadrupled in price."

I realized that the rouble had fallen in value more in the last two months than during the entire war. The queues that I noticed in Petrograd on the following day showed me that there was also very little food in the capital. To get bread, it was necessary to stand in line three or four hours; for milk, five or six hours; and for shoes, many days and nights.

I went to the new Minister, Krieger-Woynowsky, who was just as courteous, just as indefinite and cold as he had been in his previous capacities. He told me that I would never go back to the front again, as they intended to give me the management of coal. He ordered me to write a memorandum. He was talking of the plans he had in mind for months and years ahead. But already a certain note of indecision made itself felt in his voice. In the General Office of Railways and all the other offices conditions were just as before. Their occupants could hardly be swept off their feet. After what I had seen at the front, office work seemed to me useless; and the self-satisfied and cynical attitude of the office workers was disgusting. I had a desire to get back to real, actual work. In Roumania, I felt myself useful; here it was doubtful. I did not believe in the success of my coal dictatorship. From bitter experience I knew that the old powers would be the real directors and that nothing but a tangle could result from such a dictatorship. On the morning of February 24, I was working at my office. About eleven o'clock I went to the dentist. On the way I noticed that in the bread queues there was evident unrest. It was said that for two days bread would not be sold at all. And this is supposedly by the order of the new Provisioning Director of the capital, who actually wished to ration the supply of provisions. Here and there youngsters cried, "Bread, bread!" but passers-by did not pay any attention.

From the dentist I walked to the barber (near Anitchkow Bridge). On the Nevsky Prospekt, I immediately sensed a demonstration and had not reached Vladimirskaya before it appeared. Its complexity was strange, students, youths, women

and officers. There were only a few flags, the majority of which bore the inscription "Bread." But there was also an old acquaintance, "Down With Autocracy." With dignity this red flag was carried in view of police captains and policemen. They looked at it quietly and cynically. I somehow did not like this look. It felt like a provocation. Something was being contemplated . . . but contemplated by the police. No workmen were seen on the streets. At the barber shop, I heard some conversation. "All factories are working." What was most important and strange was that the demonstrators were allowed to walk the streets freely as though they were being trapped.

From the barber shop I went to Kuba's for lunch. There everything was as usual, but the lunch that used to cost one ruble now cost three. They even served white wine. The guests were the same old frequenters of the place; well fed, contented, monied. These people were making money on the war. And those . . . those froze to death in dirty freight cars. On February 25, I was running between my office, the Institute and the Ministry. It was said that in the city disorders were increasing, but they appeared to be of an unorganized character. In our section there was quiet and order. What was it? A momentary protest of hungry people or a provocation? I was afraid it was the latter. Nevertheless, there were no reports of serious conflicts with the police and military until evening. Towards evening, in the office, it was related from the account of a bystander, that near the Nicholas Railroad the Cossacks were ordered to disperse the crowds with their sabres. It was said that the Cossack officer, in answer to this order, beheaded the police captain. If this was true, then the situation was becoming rather serious. But all this was only working into the hands of the government. The disorders would be crushed and be made a pretext for new repressions and . . . . separate peace. It was necessary to stay at home. I applaud the workmen for not going out on the streets. Say what you like, but since 1905, in the matter of political education, the masses have progressed very rapidly. And no matter what the last two Dumas were, the mere fact of the existence of a parliament if only as a safety valve for free expression, had served its purpose.

In the Ministry, life ran its normal course. I was not to return to the front. I was to occupy myself with coal; possibly under Krieger.

On February 26 (Sunday), I was at home at Tzarskoye Sielo. It seemed that everything was quieting down. But, of course, that was only a symptom. We would lose the war and have, not only revolution, but perhaps something more. Plainly, it was going to be a massacre of those who had no callous on their hands. Should we win, we cannot avoid a mild revolution anyway, but now we have to carry on the war and not look for provocations.

On the morning of February 27 (Monday), I went to Petrograd. I went first to the Institute and put out a notice of the resumption of lectures, beginning Wednesday. The rest of the day I spent in the office. Mr. and Mrs. Volkenau, who came from the Viborg section, related that on the Kirochnaya there was firing and that barricades had been thrown up. I could hear the firing from where I was. Who was firing, and on whom, was not clear. Most likely, they began to shoot up the demonstration but went over to the demonstrators. How untimely all this is! Nevertheless, notwithstanding the absurdity of these armed conflicts, there was a glad feeling in the heart. After all, a section of the soldiers was for the people.

I wanted to go to the dentist, but he notified me by telephone that there was trouble on the Pushkinskaya. It was impossible to pass.

It was said that machine guns had been placed on the housetops from which the policemen fired on the people. As long ago as December, Michél (my cousin, an officer) told me that the gendarmes and policemen were being taught the use of machine guns. Summarizing all this, it was plainly a provocation.

I was returning home in the same car with Menshikoff, of the staff of Novoye Vremya (New Times). He was telling his acquaintances that Protopopoff (the Premier) had published an ukase which had long ago been signed by the Tzar, proroguing the Duma and that all the Ministers, as well as Protopopoff himself, had tendered their resignations. There were no newspapers.

On February 28 (Tuesday), in the morning, I did not go to Petrograd but began to prepare for the lecture. No matter what the events might be, it was necessary for me to attend to my duties at the Institute. After three o'clock, in order to see how serious the situation was, my wife and I took a cab and

drove around the Alexandria Palace. The guards were few and spies not to be seen at all. The Palace gave the impression of being unoccupied. The picture was like summer. Probably the Tzar's family had surreptitiously fled. The situation seemed serious.

Returning home, we met on the street straggling parts of the Volinsky Regiment with a great number of officers. Soon afterward Bob (my son), then a high school student of the eighth class,* telephoned from the Fourth Rifle Regiment that he had been told by a comrade that the Volinsky Regiment, with the exception of the parts we met, had gone over to the side of the people, and that these parts had come on foot from Petrograd to the Fourth Rifle Regiment. There the officers received them well, but the soldiers began to murmur.

We had just finished our dinner when my wife was called to the hospital. It was rumored that that night it was planned to dynamite the Palace Police Headquarters, which are situated just opposite the hospital. It was necessary to prepare for the reception of the wounded.

Yes, the situation was getting serious, but even had the whole Petrograd garrison gone over to the people it would have meant nothing. From the front the savage division with artillery might come and nothing would be left of the whole mutiny. All the same, it was disgusting, at such a time, to sit at home with folded hands. I wanted to call up Petrograd, but the telephone system was not working. About nine o'clock my wife returned from the hospital and related much of interest. First of all, coming to the hospital, she found there about ten strange officers who had bandaged themselves. They turned out to be officers of the Volinsky Regiment, who had been asked to leave the Fourth Rifle Regiment. They had sent the soldiers on foot to Gatchina and had themselves decided to simulate wounded. My wife flatly told them to leave. Then, the wife of the chief of the Palace Police, Gerhardi, came to the hospital with two children. She begged for a place of refuge, expecting the destruction of the Headquarters, in which were also their living apartments. They were allowed to remain. The children went to sleep and Mme. Gerhardi began to curse in the lowest terms Alexandra Feodrovna (the Tzarina): because of her good people must now perish.

* Eighth class is equivalent to first year college.

They were two of a kind!

Bob had been told by telephone that in the Fourth Regiment discontent was increasing. The Third Regiment had sent its delegates.

We sat down to tea. Our whole frame of mind was in a state of unrest. One expected something every minute. I envied my wife; she had something to do. Somebody came to the kitchen. The bare feet of the cook were heard. She gave me a telegram.

> "From Petrograd. No. 6995. Presented February 28, (7:15 P. M.). To Engineer Lomonossoff, Tzarskoye Sielo station. I beg you to come at once to Petrograd Ministry of Ways of Communication. Order guard at entrance to report to me. By order of the Committee of the Duma.
>
> Boublikoff, Member of the Duma.

Guard? Duma? Boublikoff? I did not understand. The Duma had seized the Ministry? The Fourth Duma? This was already revolution. A revolution at the head of which is the Fourth Duma? Either this was one of the most remarkable pages in history, or . . . . a merry-go-round. With a shaking hand I signed the receipt and turned the telegram over to my wife. What was to be done? Go to Petrograd? But in two or three days troops would come from the front and . . . . so dictated my judgment. But at the same time the instinct of an old revolutionist awoke. Like a cavalry horse that has heard the bugles call I ceased thinking, got up and said to my wife, "I'm going. Get my valise with an outfit for prison."

Within ten minutes I was walking down the dark, deserted Tzarskoye Boulevard. I realized perfectly well that in two or three days I should be in Petropawlovsk.* But I thought: "A reservist of the Revolution must not shirk his duties. For ten years I have been a reservist and now I am called again. . . . I must go." At the corner I took a cab and caught the ten-o'clock train. Newspapers did not appear. In order to keep my brain clear of fantastic thoughts for serious work, I bought a foolish novel at the station and became absorbed in it. I was alone in the first class car. The ticket inspector passed. From him I learned that the Duma had refused to dissolve and that the Petrograd garrison had gone over to it.

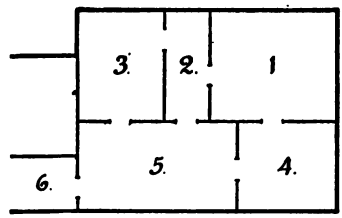
* The Fortress of Peter and Paul.

I arrived in Petrograd; the streets were entirely dark. There was firing and near at hand I heard scattered rifle shots; somewhere, far off, the stuttering of machine guns. It resembled warfare but there was a certain difference. There was music, but of a different kind.

On the Plaza at the station, people were still to be seen; but on the Obuchoff Canal not a soul. Uneasiness, firing, darkness. I felt for my revolver and Boublikoff's telegram in the pocket of my uniform overcoat—which I wore without shoulder-straps. I came out at the Fontanka. There were two or three passers by. The firing was quite near now. Here came the patrol. The soldiers looked suspiciously at the green lining of my coat * and quietly passed by; on their sleeves they wore red bands.

At the Ministry there were many soldiers. I entered. In the corridor there were also many soldiers, the majority of whom were asleep. The concierge was absent. His assistant, with a lost expression, took off my coat and said, "This is what we have come to, Your Excellency." I asked him, "Where is Boublikoff?" "In the private office of the Director General of Railways; but without a special permit one cannot be permitted to see him." Without saying a word, I handed Boublikoff's telegram to a soldier. Also without saying a word, he read it slowly. A sergeant came over. Both of them began to read it again and finally I was escorted to the well known staircase. Not a word was spoken. Not a soul was seen either on the staircase or in the hall. We entered the large, dark reception room of the Director General. The room was entirely occupied by soldiers sitting and lying about. The sergeant entered the office of the Assistant to the Director General Ustrugoff. A slim Hussar officer with a large, fluffy mustache came out. I handed him the

* The coats of only the higher officers of the Russian Army were lined with green.



telegram. "The Commissar is busy. Wait," he answered brusquely and turned away.

1. Office of the Director General.*
2. Secretary's Office.
3. Reisler's Office.
4. Ustrugoff's Office.
5. Reception Room.
6. Corridor.

I waited. There was neither room to walk nor to sit down. I wanted to go out into the corridor but the soldiers would not permit me. I stood. A quarter of an hour passed; a half hour; forty minutes. I saw that it was ridiculous, for the telegram said, "At once." I went into Ustrugoff's office myself; there sat the Hussar officer, a Second Lieutenant of the Semenoff Regiment, the chief clerk of the Headquarters and five or six persons unknown to me. The Hussar officer rose discourteously but the chief clerk whispered something in his ear and he immediately disappeared into the office of the Director General. "Pardon me, I'm sorry."

The office was brightly lighted. The watchmen were nailing the windows up with uniform cloth. Boublikoff, all excited and happy, sat at the table of the Director General. In front of him, slouching in his chair as though thunder struck and helpless, sat the Assistant Minister, Kozireff; certainly a rare personality, a vicious member of the Black Hundred, stubborn, and at the same time a most honest and honorable man. The Ministry were all terrified by him. . . . but respected him. Beside them in the office, I saw an unknown man in civilian clothes and Perloff, my colleague at the Institute. He was the Chief Engineer of the Musinsk Railroad where Boublikoff was Chairman of the Board of Directors.

"And here he is, finally," said Boublikoff; "Are the latest events known to you?"

"No," said I.

"The Duma has refused to obey the supreme order of prorogation and has elected a Committee which has assumed authority. All the Ministers except Protopopoff, who has disappeared, have been arrested. Do you wish to recognize this new power?"

"Yes," I said and involuntarily looked at Kozireff who nodded approvingly.

* See cut on preceding page.

"Do you wish to put yourself at the disposition of the new government?"

"Yes; I am willing."

Boublikoff again took my hand and asked me to sit down. There began disjointed conversation to the effect that I should immediately go to Moscow to the Moscow-Kieff-Woronezh Railroad which was not carrying out the military shipments properly. From the conversation it became clear that Perloff must also immediately leave for Caucasia to complete the Chernomorskaya Railroad. I really could not understand what kind of work they were being sent to do. And was not this the division of the bear's skin while the bear was yet enjoying himself in the woods?

"In what capacity do I go?"

"How would you like to—as Chief or Chairman of the Board of Directors?"

"I think that to send me as Chief would be useless; I would be dependent on the Board of Directors which you yourself, Alexander Alexandrovitch,* (Boublikoff) suspect of treason."

"Yes, true. I will dismiss the Board of Directors and appoint you Chairman. If I am not mistaken, the rules of the Board of Directors will allow me to do so. Tomorrow the attorney will look it up. When do you go?"

"When you order. Allow me to stay until tomorrow to acquaint myself with the general situation. I still do not understand much. How is Moscow? Where and how is the Tzar? To what extent is your power organized? Possibly I shall be useful to you here this very night."

At this time a tall young man came out of Mr. Ustrugoff's office. He reported that the Imperial train was proceeding to Bologoye.

"And what do you intend to do further with him?" I asked.

"It is not decided yet," answered Boublikoff. "I will talk with Rodzianko on the telephone at once. Here my friend, you promised to help, then please keep track of the Tzar's train."

Together with the tall young man I entered the office of Ustrugoff. There were some officers and the chief clerk. When the young man left I asked the chief clerk who he was.

---

* The Russian custom is to address a person by his given name and the name of his father. Alexander Alexandrovitch means Alexander the son of Alexander.

"Member of the Duma, Roulevsky," he answered, "assistant to Alexander Alexandrovitch." It seemed strange to me. It seemed that there was no such deputy. I looked up the membership of the Duma, which was in Ustrugoff's bookcase. No; it was suspicious. I went to Boublikoff to inquire who it was.

"The devil knows who he is. When I was looking on the streets for soldiers to seize the Ministry, he attached himself to me casually; it seems that he is employed somewhere on the railroad. He has common sense, and then, who knows him? He took good care of the telegraph. As for the other volunteer, he is an old friend of mine, an attorney, Sidelnikoff. He is juriscounsel of our railroad,"—introducing me to a man who was sitting quietly in the office.

"And do you know the officers?"

"No. One is from the Duma, and the other came here himself."

I felt uneasy..... I walked through the Ministry to orientate myself. It was empty, dark: two or three members of the staff of the Operating Department were about. At the telegraph office there was a new staff of telegraphers, excited and happy. They were being directed by the unknown Roulevsky. The company of soldiers of the Semenoff Regiment was under the command of the unknown Hussar.

I began to converse with Roulevsky, an open hearted fellow. We became friends at once. He was bookkeeper of the Northwestern Railroad, former member of the People's Socialist Party, and now a Bolshevik. When Boublikoff went to seize the Ministry, he offered him his services and was very useful to him with the telegraphers, because of his party affiliations. From his account and from incoherent talks with Boublikoff, I tried, first of all, to realize the general course of events and to clarify the present situation. The newly issued bulletins of the Petrograd journalists helped me to a great extent in this. These bulletins were distributed on the street gratis. Events had evidently taken place as follows:

On February 27, about two o'clock, the Tzar's ukase of the prorogation of the Duma was delivered. Rodzianko closed the session of the Duma and invited the members to a private session in the semi-circular hall. There he read the ukase. No resolution was adopted, either by the Duma or in the private session. But after long debate there was elected a "Committee

of Twelve Members of the Duma to keep order in Petrograd and to communicate with Departments and individuals." The membership of the Committee was as follows:

1. M. V. Rodzianko. (Octobrist.)
2. N. V. Nekrasoff. (Constitutional Democrat.)
3. A. E. Konovaloff. (Conservative Constitutional Democrat.)
4. M. E. Dmitrukoff. (Octobrist.)
5. A. F. Kerensky. (Social Revolutionist.)
6. M. S. Tchkheidze. (Menshevik.)
7. V. V. Schulgin. (Conservative.)
8. S. E. Shidlovsky. (Octobrist.)
9. P. N. Milukoff. (Constitutional Democrat.)
10. M. A. Karauloff. (Cossack.)
11. V. N. Lvoff. (Conservative.)
12. V. A. Rzhevsky. (Progressive.)

The Committee had not yet been elected when a crowd of people brought to the Duma the newly arrested Stcheglovitoff.* Rodzianko was at loss. But Kerensky pronounced him arrested in the name of the people and locked him up in the Ministerial Pavilion. After Stcheglovitoff, other arrested high officials were brought in. The Committee had never given orders for any arrests. The people were catching the most hated representatives of the old régime and bringing them to the Duma. There, some were liberated and the rest were put into the Ministerial Pavilion. Early on the morning of February 28, almost the entire Volinsky Regiment marched to the Duma. The position of Rodzianko was really tragic. He had just sent a telegram to the Tzar, recommending him to appoint a new Premier.** And here, all of a sudden, was an armed mutiny. It is said that for almost two hours the soldiers stood in the cold while the heart of this old monarchist was trembling. Finally he came out.

"At-ten-t-i-o-n!"

"Soldiers, I myself am an old soldier.... I understand what brought you here. You did not break your oath. As true sol-

* One of the Tzar's Ministers.

** Here is the text of this telegram:

Situation serious. Capital in anarchy. Government paralyzed. Transportation, provisioning and fuel completely disorganized. General discontent growing. Scattered firing on the streets. Often troops fire on each other. Necessary to appoint immediately a man in whom the people have faith to form a new government. Impossible to hesitate. Hesitation means death. I pray God that, in this hour, responsibility should not fall upon the Crown.

diers of your country, you came here to save her and the Tzar.... Allow me, an old soldier, to congratulate you.... I salute you!"

"We salute you, Your Excellency!" No sooner had Rodzianko finished with the Volinsky Regiment, than music was again heard thundering. Another regiment was approaching. (If I am not mistaken, the Litovsky.) It was necessary somehow to organize the revolutionary troops. For this purpose, the Committee invited Member of the Duma Engelhardt to join them. He was a reserve Colonel of the General Staff, (an Octobrist) and was appointed Commandant of Petrograd.* But evidently he did not succeed in controling the garrison. Mobs of soldiers did as they liked on the streets. They made arrests, demolished prisons and set fire to police stations. On February 26, the Committee of the Duma issued two appeals which read as follows:

I.

"The Temporary Committee of the Duma appeals to the inhabitants of Petrograd in the name of mutual interest to safeguard the property of the state and people, such as: telegraphs, water supply, electric stations and street cars, as well as public buildings. The Committee of the Duma also hands over to the protection of the people the factories and shops, those that are working for defense as well as for general use. It should be remembered that the pillage and destruction of buildings and property will be of no use to anybody but will bring tremendous misfortune upon the government as well as upon the civil population for all equally need water, light, etc. Attempts upon the life and health as well as the property of individuals are also forbidden. The spilling of blood and the destruction of property will be a blot on the conscience of the persons committing these deeds and may also bring numerous misfortunes to the whole population of the capital.

"President of the Duma, Michael Rodzianko."

II.

"The Temporary Committee of the Duma, in view of the distressing condition of internal disintegration, the result called forth by the old government, has been compelled to take into its own hands the business of re-establishing

* From this time on, the Duma Committee began to call itself the Executive Committee of the Duma.

government and popular order. Realizing the full responsibility of the decision that it has accepted, the Committee feels sure that the populace and the army will help it in the difficult task of forming a new government which shall correspond to the wishes of the populace and have its confidence.

"President of the Duma, Michael Rodzianko." *

Thus, so far, only the Ministry of Ways of Communication had been seized. The initiative in this duly belongs to Boublikoff. Having with difficulty received the consent of Rodzianko, Boublikoff gathered on the street some soldiers, Messrs. Roulevsky and Sosnovsky, called his friends, Perloff and Sidelnikoff, and with such a mixed company arrived at the Ministry about three o'clock. Placing guards at all the exits, Boublikoff went directly to the office of the Director General of Railways. All officialdom with the exception of the Minister gathered there. Informing them of the fact that the Committee of the Duma had taken over the power, he took the Chief of the Department, Bogasheff, to one side and told him that in his own interest he was arresting him and sending him to the Tawrid Palace. Then Boublikoff entered the private office of the Minister and, in the name of the Duma, offered to allow him to remain at his post. He refused, pleading the upset condition of his nerves. Boublikoff, in the interest of his safety, pronounced him under home arrest and put a guard at the door of his private office. Roulevsky quite successfully mimicked to me the joy which all those present, civilians as well as officers, who had almost lost their sense of fear, manifested at the arrival of Boublikoff. "Thank God, this place is already occupied," was written on every face. After leaving the Minister, Boublikoff sent to every railroad station in Russia the following telegram: **

* This appeal was, so to speak, a breaking point in the activity of the Committee of the Duma. From Rodzianko's telegram of February 27th, it was clear that he still believed that order could be restored by an appointee of the Tzar. "Here the lord will come; the lord will judge us." And all at once he himself was compelled to appear as the "lord."

** This telegram played a decisive role in the March days: on the morning of March 1, that is, two days before the abdication of Nicholas, the whole of Russia, or at any rate, that part of Russia which lies no more than 10 or 15 versts (a verst is 2/3 of a mile) from the railroad, learned that there was a revolution in Petrograd. From the fighting front to Vladivostok, from Murmansk to the Persian border, at every railroad station this telegram was received. There was no doubt; the old power had fallen, the new was born. After this, the abdication of Nicholas and Michael seemed of secondary importance. From Boublikoff's telegram all knew that even on February 28th, the power was in fact in the hands of the Duma. Was it so in reality? Certainly

"Railroad men. The old power which created disintegration in all departments of government, which was powerless, has fallen.

"The Committee of the Duma has taken into its own hands the new power and appeals to you in the name of the Fatherland: on you depends the rescue of the Fatherland. Railroad movement must be kept up uninterruptedly and with redoubled energy.

"The country expects more from you than fulfillment of duty. It expects heroism.

"Weakness and insufficiency of equipment on the Russian railroads should be made up for by your unceasing energy. You must have love for your country and consciousness of your role in carrying on transportation for the war and the well being of the rear."

The second order of Boublikoff was a telegram forbidding any movement of military trains in the region 250 versts around Petrograd. This foresight was not bad. Troops might be sent on Petrograd.

All this was well. But to what extent would our orders be obeyed in different regions? I went down with Roulevsky to the Operation Department and the telegraph office. There the work was pulsating. Conversation was going on with the general staff about the work of the Ryazansk-Uralsk Railroad in connection with the snow drifts. Reports concerning the work of the railroads for every twenty-four hours were coming in and this was well, but not of primary importance. It was necessary to get in touch with the higher officials. It must be believed that Boublikoff was master of the railroad situation.

March 1st.

Midnight found me in the midst of these doubts. I went to Boublikoff and, with his approval, began to call up on the telephone all the high officials of the Petrograd railway junction and firmly order them to report to me when the Imperial train neared Vishera.

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not. Boublikoff did as did Bismark with the Ems telegram. He added the reality. He made them all a tremendous, unconscious aid to the Russian Revolution, at the same time withheld its normal flow and surrounded the Duma with a totally unearned halo. The first impression is always the strongest. From Boublikoff's telegram all Russia learned first of the revolution and understood that the Duma had made it. It took months for the whole of Russia to realize this falsification. Nevertheless, that fact, that Boublikoff found in himself the audacity to notify all Russia of the creation of the new power at a time when there was in fact none, averted in many places, even a shadow of counter revolution.

"Nicholaievskaya Central? Connect me with the Chief of the Railroad, Engineer Nevezhin."

"Neither the office nor the apartment answer."

"Connect me with the Assistant."

"One of them has gone to meet the Imperial train and the other is ill."

"Give me the General Superintendent of Operations."

"Impossible to reach him."

"Give me the substitute officer in charge of railroad operations."

"I am the substitute officer in charge of railroad operations."

"I am Lomonossoff. I speak by order of Commissar of the Duma, Boublikoff. Do you recognize my voice?"

"Yes, sir. What are your orders?"

"Where is the General Superintendent of Operations?"

"He seems to be ill. It is impossible to reach him by telephone. I went to his apartment but they would not admit me."

"Who, then, is present?"

"Assistant Superintendent of Operations, Engineer Kozhevnikoff. He is in his apartment. But you will not be able to reach him by telephone as his number has been changed. Allow me, I will connect you with him."

"I am Kozhevnikoff. Is that you, Uriy Vladimirovitch?" (Lomonossoff).

"I am Lomonossoff. How are your trains operating?"

"More or less normally. Are you at the Ministry?"

"Yes. I speak by order of Member of the Duma, Boublikoff. You appear to be handicapped by your superiors. It seems the Chief of Railroads and the Superintendent of Operations are ill. Upon you rests the whole responsibility for the movement of the trains. Who besides you can work?"

"The other assistant, Strakhoff."

"Excellent. You can then relieve each other. But meanwhile, day and night, either you or Strakhoff must be at the telephone or in the office. The situation calls for too much responsibility."

"What are your orders in regard to the Imperial train?"

"Why?"

"Its route is Lichoslavl-Tosno-Alexandrovskaya—Tzarskoye. But then, something may happen in Tosno or even in Luban."

"You will receive, if necessary, a new appointment. What is the attitude of the employees?"

"All on the side of the Duma. But they are infuriated at Nevezhin, (Chief of Railroads) and particularly so at Dyakoff, (Chief of Operations) and excesses may be expected."

"Good-bye. Be calm and firm. The whole of Russia is looking at you. Take all measures necessary to stimulate the bringing in of provisions. The employees must prove that they can work harder and better under the new régime than under the old."

Approximately the same conversation took place with the Northwestern Railroad, but there it happened that the Chief of Railroads, Goffmeister * Valuyeff, had been arrested at the moment when he departed to meet the Tzar's train and, while being taken to the Duma, had been killed. The General Superintendent of Operations, Berkh had completely lost his head. It was again necessary to place temporarily the whole responsibility of power on the Assistant Superintendent of Operations, Engineer Lobanoff. The murder of Valuyeff was reported to Boublikoff. He talked on the telephone to Engineer V. S. Pavlovsky and appointed him Chief of the Northwestern Railroad. That very night, the appointment was telegraphed to the railroads. It was signed by Assistant Minister Borisoff, who had taken the place of Kozireff. An entirely new situation was found on the Moscow-Woronezh-Ribinsk Railroad. There all the superior officers, together with the Chief, M. E. Pravosudovitch, had moved into the apartment of the chief of the section of operation which was at the railroad station and had established a constant watch at the telegraph and telephone. There the interest was only in how firm the Ministry was and in what was happening on the other railroads.

When these conversations ended it was already about three o'clock. It then became clear to me that to ring up and talk on the telephone was impossible, but it was necessary to continue the conversation. It was necessary to communicate with Moscow, Kharkoff, Caucasia, Siberia.... The chief clerk came in and induced me to lie down on a divan in one of the rooms. But I was not sleepy. I was thinking of the necessity of organizing a special department of revolutionary service connection.

* A Russian Court title.

Roulevsky was all right, but he was only one and it was necessary to be constantly on watch. It was necessary to have two or three trustworthy men, one of whom could always be at the telephone to talk with the railroads and other institutions. We ought also to have some boys for telephone errands.... Automobiles were needed. Thus I could not fall asleep. About 3:45, my thoughts were broken in upon by the outcry of Roulevsky: "The Imperial train is nearing Malaya-Vishera." * I jumped up and went to Boublikoff. He was sleeping. It was absolutely impossible to wake him up. He muttered, cursed, and stubbornly fell back into bed again. I left Roulevsky near him and I myself ran to the telephone.

"The Duma? Connect me with the President.... Michael Vladimirovitch, (Rodzianko) is that you?"

"I am Rodzianko. Who is talking?"

"The Ministry of Ways of Communication. I am Lomonossoff, member of the Supreme Engineering Soviet. I speak for Commissar Boublikoff. You know me...."

"What do you wish?"

"The Imperial train is nearing Malaya-Vishera. What do you order to be done with it?"

"We will discuss it. Call Boublikoff."

In a few moments Boublikoff came over.

"Yes, this is I, Boublikoff.... But what is to be done? Send the train to Tzarskoye? To Petrograd? Keep it in Vishera?.... Wait? What and how many?.... All right, we shall wait.... They cannot decide!" Boublikoff shot at me, hanging up the receiver. Long minutes ensued. A note was brought from the telegraph office: "Malaya-Vishera. General Fursa and Assistant Chief of Railway Kern are on the Imperial train. A consultation is going on. Railroad workmen have put the front wheels of the locomotive out of order. Commandant Grekoff, from Petrograd, orders the train to move to Petrograd." Evident absurdity. Every one was doing as he pleased. Again we called up the Duma—"Not yet decided." We waited. Another note: "Malaya-Vishera. By order of Engineer Kern, at 4:50 train No. A ** returned to Bologoye." We again called up the Duma.

* Malaya-Vishera is about 154 versts from Petrograd.

** The Imperial train.

"Hold it up?"

"Not yet decided. Keep track of the train. When the situation becomes clear you will receive instructions."

I was at loss.

"They are consulting with the Soviet," said Roulevsky.

"With what Soviet?"

"Didn't you know that a Soviet of Workmen's Deputies was formed three days ago after the example of 1905? Tchkheidze is the president and Skobeleff and Kerensky are vice-presidents. Did you expect to make a revolution with Duma members? You know yourself what follies they commit. The Soviet has already issued two appeals. Here they are." and he handed me two sheets.

I.

"From the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies.*

"Citizens: the representatives of the workmen, the soldiers, and the population of Petrograd, meeting at the Duma, announce that the first meeting of representatives will take place today at 7 P. M. in the Duma. All the troops that have come over to the people must immediately elect their representatives, one for each company.

"Factories are to elect one deputy for each thousand workers. Factories having less than one thousand workers elect one deputy.

"February 27, 1917."

II.

"February 28, 1917.

"From the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies

"The old régime has brought the country to complete disorganization and the people to starvation. It was impossible to suffer further. The population of Petrograd turned into the streets to announce publicly its dissatisfaction. The people were met by firing. Instead of bread, the Tzar's government gave them lead.

"But the soldiers refused to go against the people. Together they turned against the government and seized arms, military supplies and a series of important govern-

* A fact worthy of being entered on the pages of history. The Soviet was formed on the same day as the Committee of the Duma and five days before the Provisional Government. Its first appeal to the population proceeded by a whole day the previously quoted appeal of the Committee of the Duma.

ment departments. The struggle still goes on; it must be fought to a finish. The old power must be completely overthrown and leave its place to a people's government. In this lies the salvation of Russia.

"For a successful result of the fight in the interests of democracy, the people must form their own governmental organization. Yesterday, February 27th, there was organized in the capital a SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S DEPUTIES from the elected representatives of shops and factories, of the revolutionary parts of the army as well as of Democratic and Socialistic parties and groups.

"The SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S DEPUTIES sets forth as its basic principle the organization of the power of the people and the struggle for a final and definite establishment of political freedom and the rule of the people in Russia.

"The SOVIET has appointed Regional Commissars for the establishment of the rule of the people in the regions around Petrograd.

"We call upon the people of the capital to rally to the SOVIETS immediately, to organize local committees in these regions, and to take into their own hands the administration of all local affairs.

"All together with united strength, we shall fight for the complete removal of the old government and the meeting of a Constituent Assembly elected by the formula of equal, direct, universal, and secret ballot.

"THE SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S DEPUTIES."

But when were the elections being accomplished?

Oh, you Akim Simplicimus! What kind of elections are there now? Workmen, soldiers and revolutionists came to the Duma, and here you have a Soviet. Of course, there also came into the Duma Socialist factions. It was necessary to create a revolutionary center. You didn't expect Goutchkoff and Rodzianko to make a revolution? . . . .

My head could not grasp it all. But there was no time to think. One must do his duty. I again rang up the railroads. All were at their posts. I got Moscow. With the exception of the Railroad and the Chief of Operation, all was in order. I reported to Boublikoff the necessity of appointing in Moscow a chief of the junction and an assistant. He consented, but

refused to sign a telegram. "Let Kozireff or Borisoff sign it." This aroused my suspicion. After Boublikoff's first telegram, the workmen on the railroads knew of the revolution and also that he was Commissar, but they did not know that Kozireff and Borisoff were his subordinates, and might be led to suspect that the latter were "stealing on their own hook."

I began to organize train despatching. I selected for this purpose the office of Ustrugoff, next to Boublikoff's office; besides, there were three telephones, two city and one Ministerial. On the first day the room was occupied by officers giving out passes to employees, but on March 2nd, we moved them into the office of Reisler and then into the secretarial room. I called upon my old "fighting" co-worker of the Office of Experiments, G. V. Lebedeff, and asked him, together with Roulevsky, to take upon themselves the duty of watching the telephones. On the following day there came to their assistance an employee of the Ministry, Arapoff, an old "Operation" man (a Constitutional Democrat). Officially, they were on watch at the telephone twelve hours each, and then rested twenty-four hours, but in reality they had to attend to a number of other duties.

But half past nine, there came to me a deputation of my students of the Institute of Ways of Communication. They related that the Institute had been occupied by an infantry regiment which came from Peterhof. I made use of them momentarily. They called up some of their friends and by noon, I had at my disposition about twenty energetic students of the Institute. Each of the three men on watch at the telephone had four students to run his errands and the rest of them remained at my disposal. But even this staff proved insufficient. Those on watch at the telephones were exhausted. It was necessary to appoint an assistant to each of them. In so far as automobiles were concerned, we were successful in obtaining two from the Nicholaievsk Railroad and one from the Electrical Association of 1886.

But I anticipate..... About nine o'clock we were notified from Bologoye, that the Tzar's train had arrived there. Again we called up the Duma. This time a decision followed: "Hold up the train at Bologoye. Hand the Emperor the telegram of the President of the Duma and make up for the latter a special train to Bologoye." In the telegram mentioned, Rodzianko called attention to the critical situation of the Crown and asked

engineer and ordered him to keep up 100-110 versts an hour. I went to Grekoff: by the way, I must ask Rodzianko on the telephone when he is going. The soldiers would not allow me to see Grekoff. Long conversations began; who I am, on what business, etc. I was answered for by the Substitute Chief of the Station and Kazhevnikoff. Finally we were allowed to go in.

Grekoff himself was not in; we found his assistant. After learning on the telephone that Rodzianko was to leave in half an hour, I started diplomatic conversation. I was arguing and trying to prove that only specialists should operate railroads, that the Ministry of Ways of Communication was entirely on the side of the revolution and that the duty of the Commandant was to take charge of the moving troops and to see that there was order, but not to take charge of the operation. It seems that I convinced....

At the end of the conversation the Chief of the Railroad, Nevezhin, came in quite agitated. He was feebly submissive. He made undecisive attempts to direct. He took me to his apartment, which had been wrecked by employees and soldiers: everywhere there were traces of bullets. The looking-glasses were broken; the furniture was broken, but not all of it.

And Rodzianko still not here. I again rang up the Duma. "Just starting out." With Nevezhin we went out on the porch to meet the head of the Government. Znamenskaya Plaza was full of people. From afar were suddenly heard outcries, "Hooray!" "And to this Rodzianko had arrived," thought I. But it was not he. Troops were going to the Duma to offer it their loyalty. Only when I saw these grey, well-known masses of people with red flags, did I realize fully and definitely what had happened. For at least an hour section after section of troops, in full order with music and officers, passed. And I looked and looked .... and involuntary tears came into my eyes.

Rodzianko had still not arrived. I again went to the telephone.

"Will soon leave."

"Tell him that in order to let his train through, I have ordered all passenger trains held up. We are completing utter disorganization in the operating department, and train No. A. gets further and further from Bologoye. Explain to him that I must know the exact time of his departure."

"Michael Vladimirovitch leaves at once. Order the train in half an hour."

I waited. What a familiar face that man in the soldier's uniform had. Aha, that was Azis Nicholaievitch, an assistant to the buffet attendant, Bairasheff, who has fed me many a year in Luban and in trains. Recently he was taken into the army.

"Azis Nicholaievitch, what are you doing here? You are supposed to be at the front."

"I am on the sanitary train, Your Excellency. I arrived and went to my boss and here is what I got into. The other day I said to him, 'Donate three or four thousand, you will lose more. Cook for the soldiers 'shtchi' * and 'kasha';** give it away free of charge.' He was stubborn and when the soldiers broke in, the cooks ran away and there was nobody to cook. Well, it started.... Everything is broken. Would you believe me, not a plate was left, the silver and linen taken away, a loss of about 40,000."

"And in Luban?"

"Luban is all destroyed . . . dark people, enraged."

"Hungry."

"No; mainly by reason of rage, Your Excellency."

"Rage at whom?"

"At all those who live well. Excuse me, Your Excellency. At present, at the front, it's quite doubtful as regards food; in the trenches there is hunger and on the Staffs the officers deny themselves nothing. You know yourself. Here, because of abuse, they are breaking and destroying. It is necessary to understand. Therefore I said to the boss, 'Cook day and night. They will thank you.' Is it much that a soldier needs?" ***

Saying good-bye to Azis Nicholaivitch, I again went out on the porch. A half an hour passed. Rodzianko had not arrived. There was no sense in waiting longer. Leaving Nekrassoff at the station, I went back to the Ministry. On the way, we were fired upon by a machine gun from the house of Mayeffsky but they missed us. All the bullets went wild behind us.

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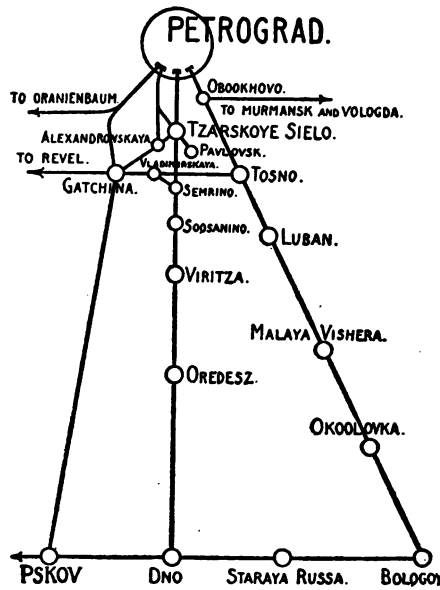
* Cabbage Soup. ** Gruel.

*** A few months later, when the label of the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie had been applied to the massacres that were going on, the same thought was even better illustrated by a Petrograd cabman. To the question of his fare, Professor Harper of Chicago, "Who are the bourgeois?" the cabman replied, "Bourgeois, sir, are those who lived well under the old régime."

I entered my office. Rotmeister Sosnovsky was wildly shouting into the telephone.

"I am reporting for the fifth time, that the guard in the Ministry of Ways of Communication has not been relieved for the last twenty-four hours and is without food. . . . You sent? Nobody came. . . . Well, I'll ring up the Semenovsky Regiment. Gentlemen, connect me with the Semenovsky Regiment. I want to talk with Col. N. N. . . . Colonel, I am the Chief of the Guard of the Ministry of Ways of Communication, Rotmeister Sosnovsky. Your regiment is keeping guard in the Ministry of Ways of Communication. No food, no relief. . . ."

The conversation dragged on a long time. At the other telephone I tried to find out where the Tzar's train was. It happened to be going to Staraya-Russa.



From Petrograd to Staraya-Russa by way of Dno is three hundred versts while by way of Bologoye it is four hundred. It was senseless for Rodzianko to go through Bologoye. True, there were three hundred versts of double track but at the same

time the Tzar's train will be getting ahead of him. It was necessary to overtake him at Dno. We rang up the Duma. Rodzianko was still there.* He condescended to go by the Vindavskaya Railroad to Dno. I cancelled the first special train on the Nicholaievsk and ordered another on the Vindavskaya. The incident with Ustrugoff had its good side: we ourselves gave orders by telegraph without the assistance of the officials of the old régime. I rang up Pravosudovitch.

"What about the holding up of No. A.?"

"No results; too late. At Dno the gendarmes arrested all the disloyal railroad men and demand troops for guard duty."

"May we let the President of the Duma go there?"

"I don't know."

We notified the Duma. Rodzianko sent another telegram to the Tzar. No answer.

Nekrassoff rang up from the Vindavskaya station which he had reached on foot. "Train ready. I am awaiting orders."

"Wait."

It was after two o'clock. . . . Telephones, orders. . . . Not a minute's rest. . . . I began to get terribly hungry. All reconnoissances in that respect proved futile. The dining room was not working and then, less than half of the employees had reported for duty. The chief clerk appeared in company with a middle aged but pleasant lady. She smiled and asked, "Do you wish to eat?" She happened to be the wife of a courier, a Lettish Socialist, and had decided to prepare our food. Her name was Cecilia . . . . a good soul. She fed us as though fattening us for the market. The menu was very limited; kasha, potatoes and beef-steaks, but always fresh and appetizing. Thus we were assured of food and otherwise our duties were entirely in regular routine. Without exaggeration, it may be said that Ustrugoff's office, from which its boss had been dispossessed, was throbbing with the revolution. The provisioning of the soldiers was also organized. Their food was brought to them from the Institute of Ways of Communication.

It got dark; we turned on the electricity. A message came by telephone: "Train No. A. arrived in Dno. The Emperor is pacing the platform awaiting the arrival of the President of the

* At that time the vacillating behavior of Rodzianko seemed unpardonable. In reality, throughout the whole day he had had parleys by military wire with General Russky. Beside that, the Committee of the Duma could in no way come to an understanding with the Soviet as to what was to be done with the Tzar.

Duma." I rang up the Vindavskaya Railroad. "The President of the Duma has not yet arrived." Boublikoff called up the Duma. "A very important session is now going on between the Committee of the Duma and the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies. Rodzianko cannot go now, but asks that you hold the train. We have received an answer from General Russky in Pskov, saying that he will do his duty to the country. . . . The army is with us."

"But what about No. A., Alexander Alexandrovitch?"

"How do I know? We'll have to wait until they stop talking . . . " and Boublikoff went out, slamming the door.

Pravosudovitch rang up: "The Emperor asks when will the President of the Duma arrive. He also asks that his train be ordered to Pskov."

I then rang up the Duma myself. Rodzianko and I reported.

"Order them to inform His Majesty, that the extraordinary situation does not allow me to leave the capital. The Imperial train is to be let go with all the formalities due to Imperial trains. Do you understand?"

"Yes, sir. It shall be done. It means that I shall cancel your train on the Vindavskaya?"

"Yes, but make up a train to Pskov. Some members of the Duma are going there with a message of extreme importance. Did you understand?"

"Abdication?"

"That does not concern you and such words must not be spoken."

"Yes, sir."

Nevertheless, Roulevsky, through his friends who were members of the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, was notified by the same telephone that it had been decided to demand abdication. The Duma had argued the whole day as to what was to be done. There had been motions for removal, abdication and discipline, that is, the imprisonment of the Tzarina and the appointment of a responsible Ministry. Abdication was decided upon. From the Department of Operation an order was brought to me for signature, allowing the Imperial train to go to Pskov. I wished to believe this the last Imperial train in Russia. I began to talk with the Rotmeister. We found that we had mutual acquaintances in the Ukrainian Hussar Regiment; he knew Misha. He is extremely able to deal with sol-

diers, they obey him wonderfully. "He is a real one, brother," I heard a bearded corporal saying about him. "With him, brother, you can't. . . ." In answer another soldier spilled a tirade of profanity and evidently they understood one another but I didn't. . . . About seven o'clock Pravosudavitch called up: "What's to be done with the Georgian Cavaliers?" *

"Which Georgian Cavaliers?"

"A few days ago, the Staff ordered three eschalons of Georgian Cavaliers to Tzarskoye Sielo where there was supposed to be an exhibition of trophies. With the first eschalon is General Ivanoff. He demands to be allowed to proceed, otherwise he threatens to use force."

"Inform the General of the situation. What kind of exhibition could there be now?" . . . . . .

"The General asks that he be allowed to go to Tzarskoye in his own car with a separate locomotive or that his car be coupled with a suburban train."

"I will report to the Commissar."

Boublikoff rang up the Duma. It was ordered to let him through.

The Duma had published a list of Commissars to take charge of the various Ministries. Boublikoff was omitted from this list. Dobrovolsky was appointed Commissar of Ways of Communication. About eight o'clock he appeared at the Ministry. For a long time he talked with Boublikoff locked in his private office. How they divided their duties remained unknown but Boublikoff categorically asked me to remain with him as Assistant Commissar. I was moved. Our personal relations, after Boublikoff's project of the new railroad in Grishino-Rovno, had been very strained. He had a perfect right to cherish a resentment but, nevertheless, for the sake of duty he was now pushing me. Not every one is capable of that.

The Military was quiet. The Departments of Despatching and Telegraphs were working in full swing. The movement of trains was everywhere normal. Lebedeff was on watch.

"Take a rest," says Boublikoff.

"Allow me to go to Tzarskoye, for the telephone is not working. By the way, I will find out what is doing there. How is the garrison?"

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* An organization of soldiers who have been distinguished for bravery.

"Fine. Go."

And I went. There was hardly anybody in the ten o'clock train. Arrived at Tzarskoye, I asked the officer on guard at the station how things were. He reported: "General Ivanoff has spent twenty minutes at the Palace and gone back to Viritza. The troops have pronounced themselves neutral and put on white bands." When I came out of the station there were no cabs. Scattered firing here and there. The soldiers were showing their joy and firing into the air. I could see a light in my house. My wife was not asleep. There was much questioning and many tales, but like a stone I fell into bed and slept like a dead man.

March 2nd.

At six o'clock I was awakened and by seven I was already rattling on the train. There were many soldiers in the first-class car, a thing I saw for the first time in my life. They were smoking and spitting and the demand for tickets was answered by an enormous tirade of profanity. About two versts from Petrograd the train stopped. Soldiers from the outside stood at the doors and let nobody out. In about twenty minutes, an intoxicated Second Lieutenant and a Corporal, entered the train accompanied by ten or twelve soldiers with rifles. The Lieutenant put his revolver to the head of every passenger in turn while the corporal questioned them as to their business in Petrograd. My turn came; I showed my pass and Boublikoff's telegram. They let me go immediately.

At the station there were many soldiers. A tumult, shouting. Something was wrong. I ran to the Ministry. A commotion was also going on there. Everybody turned on me, angrily asking why I had gone away. I firmly told them all to keep quiet and asked Lebedeff to tell me what had happened and to explain the situation. It happened that about four o'clock in the morning, a note had been received from the Vindavskaya Railroad, saying that General Ivanoff had arrested the Chief of the Viritza Station, where he was spending the night, and at the head of the Georgian Cavaliers with two other eschalons had left in the direction of Tzarskoye Sielo. Lebedeff transmitted this information to the Duma and himself ordered the rails taken up between Semrino and Tzarskoye. (See the above plan.)

In about half an hour I recalled that there is another branch from Semrino to Vladimirskaya and that Ivanoff could go to

Gatchina by way of this branch. But I ordered a freight train to be allowed to jump the rails at a switch there.

There could be no hesitation. I called up Pravosudovitch.

"What is the situation?"

"General Ivanoff is in Semrino. He is talking by telephone with the gendarme officers who left to meet him at Vladimirskaya. The Military Committee of the Duma has just ordered all movement of trains stopped. Lebedeff's order to take up the rails has been carried out. But instead of taking up the rails, we have taken off parts of the switches between Semrino and Tzarskoye stations. We have numbered them and sent them to Petrograd."

"A wonderful idea. Many thanks. One of our telephones will be constantly connected with yours. Keep me informed of all of Ivanoff's movements."

And here it must be said, that the telegraphers of the Vindavskaya Railroad proved equal to the situation. They continued to transmit messages even when on the other side of the wall, General Ivanoff was shooting their comrades. We did not miss a single step of his.

No sooner had I finished the conversation with Pravosudovitch, than a student who was keeping watch at another telephone handed me the receiver, to which Lobanoff was called.

"What about Gatchina?"

"There are about 20,000 loyal troops."

"What do you mean by loyal?"

"Not revolutionary."

"Remember once for all, that those are mutineers. Those on the side of the people are loyal. So, Gatchina is in the hands of the mutineers. What else. . . ."

"There are also a few eschalons in Alexandrevskaya and, what is more important, train after train comes in with new troops."

"Take off the switches in Gatchina. And what about the collision with the freight trains?"

"I don't know yet. Unlikely. . . ."

Called up the Duma.

"Military Committee?"

"I am General Potapoff. Who is speaking?"

"I am Lomonossoff, Boublikoff's assistant. By his request, I am taking charge of the operations of the railroads and I

would very much beg of you not to issue any orders of this character. I will do everything in my power and have already accomplished something, but there cannot be any division of power on the railroads."

"What have you done?"

I told him.

"All right."

"What else do you want done and what is the situation at present?"

"I will meet General Ivanoff six versts outside of Petrograd. Has he any artillery?"

"I do not know. But there is some in Tzarskoye. Are you in communication with Tzarskoye?"

"Not at all. Are you?"

"I slept there. But the telephones are not working. The troops have declared neutrality, but in Gatchina they are on the side of the old régime."

"I know. But Ivanoff moves on Petrograd and not on Gatchina."

"He may turn from Semrino to Gatchina and evidently wants to do so. But we will make an attempt to stop him by railroad means."

"How will you do it? It is necessary to send forces to oppose him."

"Your troops will not pass through Alexandrevskaya and Gatchina and between Tzarskoye and Semrino the switches have been put out or order."

"How did you dare? . . . . I will have you shot."

"Allow me, Your Excellency, are you sure of the Tzarskoye Sielo garrison?"

No answer followed. The situation was pretty bad. It looked, not like Potapoff shooting me, but like the Tzar's gallows. Lebedeff told me that towards morning they were already debating how we were going to be hanged; whether they would keep up all the appearance of science or hang us on the gas light poles or the electric light poles. Sidelnikoff could not stand all the jokes of these "gallows-birds" and ran away.

All the telephones rang at once.

"The Duma demands a special train for Member of the State Council Goutchkoff and Deputy Schulgin."

"Tell them that the train has been waiting since yesterday and that Inspector Nekrassoff is in it."

"Hooray!" shouts Lebedeff. "Gatchina is cut off from Semrino. A train was derailed and another run on to it."

I began to dance with joy. But immediately a thought passed my mind: "But what does it matter to him to walk twenty versts?" But aloud I say:

"Inform Alexander Alexandrovitch of this. Russia will not forget your service, Gregory Vasilievitch (Lebedeff). But I shall not forget also that I slept this night. My only excuse is, that I have trained such a pupil as you."

The service of Lebedeff surely should be written on the tablets of history. Should General Ivanoff have succeeded in breaking through to Gatchina, the result of the March Revolution would have been very different. Moreover, General Potapoff was defending Petrograd only on the side of Tzarskoye Sielo. The new chief of the Northwestern rang up:

"In Louga the garrison has gone over to the revolution and is plundering the city. Evidently the incoming eschalons intend on their part to attack the city and expel the revolutionary troops."

"This is very important. Dear friend, please inform Alexander Alexandrovitch about this. And I must call up two parties . . . Vindavskaya? Manager? Chief of Operation? . . . . Wait, somebody is talking on the other telephone. . . . So. General Ivanoff still confers. And what is doing at the sixth verst?"

"Four guns have been set up and there are 6,000 soldiers. We expect some more to come up."

"Excellent. Order General Ivanoff to be watched constantly."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, a telephone call from your home,"

"From home . . . . ?"

"Raisa, is that you?"

"How in the world!"

"We have been connected with the palace wire. (Even now, I do not know who made this connection. But for two days' communication between revolutionary Tzarskoye and revolutionary Petrograd was maintained over this wire.)

"What's the news?"

"In the morning the troops came over to the Palace The

Tzarina came out to them. The Svodny and the cavalry regiments have declared neutrality. The Palace is being guarded by the neutrals. There is complete quiet in the city. How are you?"

"Tremendously busy. Are our Tzarskoye Sielo regiments trustworthy?"

"They seem to be. Why?"

"We must know. This is the first news we have had from Tzarskoye. Did you hear anything about Alexandrevskaya?"

"It is said that pourparlers are going on; some new troops arrived."

"Good-bye."

"Alexander Alexandrovitch, important news from Tzarskoye. Tell this news to the Duma yourself. Also make a train to Louga for Deputy Lebedeff."

"Yes, sir. . . ."

"Well, the situation is clearing up," I thought. "Ivanoff cannot get to Gatchina for four or five hours. There is already a mutiny in Louga. The Tzarskoye Sielo garrison is on our side; possibly we will not be hanged. But what further? Abdication? And then a regent during whose time it will be easier to win civil liberties . . . ?"

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the Duma is asking for a special train to Tzarskoye Sielo to hold pourparlers with the Tzarina."

"Order one. . . ."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, General Ivanoff wants to talk to you on the telephone. We are notified from the Vindavskaya that he demands to be let through to Petrograd."

"Well," I thought, "you won't go without switches, my dear soul."

"I am General Ivanoff."

"I am Professor Lomonossoff."

"The manager of the Vindavskaya has told me that you are directing railroad operation and that without you he cannot give orders. What does this mean?"

"Aha," I thought, "let us be cunning."

"Your Excellency, in such a critical time and situation the management of the railroads must be concentrated in one person. Furthermore, the Witebsk-Petrograd line is one of our most important military routes."

"Who are you?"

'I am taking the place of Director General Bogasheff since his arrest."

"By His Majesty's order, I am on the way to Petrograd."

"Although the Staff has not issued any such order I will take your word for it but I cannot guarantee you a safe passage to Petrograd."

"Why?"

"There are four batteries of artillery and about 20,000 infantry concentrated to meet you six versts outside of Petrograd." (I boasted.) "Talk it over with the Duma."

"I am very much obliged for this information. Is it quite exact?"

"Surely, Your Excellency, would I dare? . . . . ."

"Good-bye."

Forty minutes elapsed. A call from the Vindavskaya.

"General Ivanoff insists that he be allowed to go to Tzarskoye. He is arresting employees and threatening to shoot them."

"Let him go; let him turn over at the first switch. It's a pity for the engineer, but what can be done?"

"It shall be done."

One hour passed.

"General Ivanoff has returned to Semrino and again wants to go to Gatchina."

"Excellent. Give me the Northwestern. . . . What? . . . . I am Lomonossoff. How are things in Gatchina?"

"The chief of the station refuses to obey your order about the switches; the troops are quite firm on the other side. The Chief of the Traction Section, together with the workmen, has obtained somewhere two machine guns and entrenched himself near the depot. Member of the Duma Lebedeff is in Louga. He is speaking to the soldiers."

Ivanoff's hesitation was pleasing to me, but his determination to go to Gatchina very much otherwise.

"General Ivanoff retreats to Viritza, evidently for reinforcements."

"Hooray! We are saved!" Only to gain time. "As soon as his train moves south, take up the switches behind him."

Thus he was cut off from Semrino.

"The train carrying Goutchkoff and Schulgin has passed Gatchina safely on the freight tracks. But in Louga, they have refused to pass them."

"Who?"

"Mutinied troops. Something unimaginable is going on there."

Another telephone call.

"The Nicholaievsk reports that the eschalons which were held up are plundering the station."

"Send these trains as far as possible in any direction, but do not let them get to Petrograd. How are the trains?"

"Moving more or less regularly. All passenger trains arrived only a little late."

I called up Moscow; there was complete order. The entire garrison had gone over to the side of the people. Militia was being organized. The junction was working like a clock. The arrival of provisions from the south was normal. I called up Kharkoff. There, even the people had gone over to the revolution and continued to do their duty. Boublikoff was all this while trying to communicate with Caucasia in order, so to say, to hook the Grand Duke.

Ivanoff slowly retreated to Viritza. Boublikoff sent the following telegram to him there:

> "It has become known to me that you are arresting and terrorizing the railroad employees who are under my jurisdiction. By order of the Provisional Committee of the Duma, I warn you that you are thereby taking upon yourself a heavy responsibility. I advise you not to move to Viritza as, according to my information, your regiments will be destroyed there by the artillery fire of the people's troops."

At the same time new eschalons kept coming up from the south. A few trains also came up from Pskov. Boublikoff's orders were disobeyed. On the Northwestern, we practically only command Petrograd and on the Vindavskaya—only the Petrograd-Viritza section. Further to the south some one else was in charge. All this time we were trying to call up the Headquarters. We began to inquire who was sending troops to Petrograd and for what purpose. We received evasive answers. Boublikoff began to exchange recriminations with them.

I called Pskov, the Chief of Division, Gavaloff.

"Who is sending eschalons to Petrograd? The Commissar has ordered them held up."

"I follow the orders of the chief of the movement of troops from Petrograd."

"Which?"

"Our Southwestern, Col. Shakhoff."

"Um-m. . . . How are things at your place?"

"The Imperial train is standing at Pskov, awaiting the arrival of Goutchkoff."

We called up the Duma.

"Military Committee? Is Col. Shakhoff connected with you?"

"Who is that?"

"The chief of the movement of troops at Warsaw Station."

"Yes, yes, certainly."

"Are you sure? He is in charge of the sending of troops to Petrograd. In fact, south of Gatchina they obey him and not us."

"Urily Vladimirovitch, the Vindavskaya is calling."

"The switches have been taken up behind Ivanoff."

"Fine."

"But there are many people who live at Tzarskoye and Pawlovsk, waiting at the station; is it allowed to resume traffic to Pawlovsk?"

"I will ask the Duma immediately. . . . ."

". . . . . Yes, all right. Resume it."

We all felt greatly relieved. The main danger—Ivanoff with his eschalons—seemed to have passed. That danger, as it afterwards became clear, had not been small; only a few days before, he had been appointed Chief Military Commander of the Petrograd region by the Tzarina. He had really tried to crush the revolution and had he broken through to Gatchina, who knows what would have happened? Also, the duplicity of the Headquarters awaits its own historian. But whatever might have happened, Ivanoff was cut off from Petrograd by the heroic efforts of the Vindavskaya troops. Our entire attention was now concentrated on Goutchkoff's train.

"It's nearing Louga."

"It has arrived."

"It's standing in Louga."

"It's still standing in Louga. The soldiers of the garrison have left on a locomotive to meet the first eschalon. Pourparlers are going on."

"The first eschalon has gone over to the side of the Revolution. But Goutchkoff cannot leave for fear of the others."

"All right. Call Inspector Nekrassoff to the telephone."

"I am Nekrassoff. How are things going?"

"Broken through to Gatchina with difficulty. The situation is this: certain eschalons have gone up to Gatchina and Alexandrovskaya and stopped there. They expect orders but have received none. The garrison of Louga is on our side. If the incoming eschalons from the south will not join them, they will hold them up by force."

"Dear friend, report to me immediately anything that happens."

"All right."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the Vindavskaya is calling."

"I am Lomonossoff. What is the trouble?"

"The Commandant refuses to re-establish train movement on the outgoing switches and at the relief points without a written order from you."

"I will immediately send you the order of the Commissar with the official seal."

It began to be dusk. Kozireff came into our room, took Roulevsky by the arm and walked him over to the window. They had a long conversation. Kozireff was agitated, Roulevsky unmoved and jubilant. I began to listen and was almost ready to burst with laughter. Kozireff was trying to prove to Roulevsky that he was not at all such a supporter of the Black Hundred as people thought, that he discharged Minsky and that he was heart and soul for the Russian people. . . . Roulevsky listened condescendingly and shook his head in dignified fashion. If only Kozireff had known that he was talking with the bookkeeper of the Northwestern Railroad!

"The second eschalon has gone over to the Louzhsky garrison."

"The third, also."

"Fine. When will you start?"

"The fourth is stubborn; we are sending a deputation to Gatchina to convert them."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the Vindavskaya is calling."

"I am Lomonossoff."

"The soldiers refuse to obey the order to resume the movement of trains. The people are very excited. If possible, come yourself."

"Take me along," Kozireff begged, "and afterward we will go to dinner at my place."

"Fine. I will then take a flying trip to my dentist after dinner." I rang up the "tooth puller" and then Kozireff and I went out. The Vindavskaya station was completely full of people. All were excited.

"Gentlemen, be patient. The movement of trains will be resumed."

"It's outrageous, only fooling. Why was the movement of trains stopped?"

"So," I thought, "in the city they don't know anything about Ivanoff. This is good." We went up to Pravosudovitch. An officer ran in right behind us.

"The guards arrested the Commandant when he went to remove them and allow the train to pass. They demand an order with the signature of the President of the Duma and the Duma seal."

"I will call up the Duma immediately. Send somebody from the railroad there with a soldier."

I called up the Duma and the Northwestern telling the latter to run the train on the Tzarskoye branch and again went out to the public.

"Gentlemen, the train will leave in an hour, not before. In an hour also a train will leave Warsaw station for the Tzarskoye Pavillion. Those for whom it is convenient, had better take this train."

We went to Kozireff's and then to the dentist. He filled my tooth and wondered all the time at my courage. In the city there was absolute quiet; flags were everywhere. Firing had ceased. A surprisingly large number of people were in the streets.

At eight o'clock I returned to the Ministry. Much news.

"Nicholas II, at Pskov has appointed Prince Lvoff, President of the Council of Ministers and as Supreme Commander-in-Chief—Nicholai Nicholaievitch (Grand Duke Nicholas). Lvoff has been given the task of forming a responsible Ministry."

"Too late. How is Goutchkoff's train?"

"Not far from Pskov. Ivanoff went on to Petrograd and is at present at Soosanino junction. All the switches have been removed ahead of him."

Brrrrr. . . . . Again about Ivanoff. He had just sent a private telegram. The chief of the junction was asking whether he should accept it.

"Certainly. Accept it. Get the money, but send the telegram to me."

"It has been done."

"Transmit the telegram."

"Petrograd. Mokhovaya." (I have forgotten the number of the house and the apartment as well as the name of the addressee.)

"Go on!"

"Mamma ill. Papa better. Tell her. Ivanoff."

"What is this nonsense?"

"This is a code," said Lebedeff. "The addressee is fictitious—that is clear. It is necessary to clear up who lives in this apartment."

"Dear friend, that isn't our business. Ring up the Duma. Call Commissar of Justice Kerensky and tell him about it. And meanwhile, I will ring up the Vindavskaya."

"Well, have you resumed the movement of trains?"

"Just now. An awful disorganization. Why is the military butting in?"

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, Kerensky wants to talk to you in Boublikoff's absence."

"I am Lomonossoff."

"This telegram is very important. Please inform me immediately if another follows."

"Excellent. When it is possible, please confide their meaning to me."

"With pleasure."

A package of papers was brought in. I had no time to look at them when another telephone call came in.

"Goutchkoff's train is nearing Pskov."

"It has arrived."

"Call Inspector Nekrassoff to the telephone."

"I am Nekrassoff. At 20:42 (8:42 P. M.) Goutchkoff and Schulgin entered the Tzar's car."

"Gentlemen," my voice carried through two rooms, "Goutchkoff and Schulgin have entered the Tzar's car. . . . A new era of Russian history begins."

Silence followed which was broken in upon by Boublikoff.

"Connect me with the Duma. . . ."

"Goutchkoff is already with the Tzar. . . . Yes. . . . By telephone to you?—It shall be done. The President of the Duma begs to order that the documents. . . . Well, what's the use of being sentimental; the Act of Abdication should be transmitted here by telegraph immediately and then by telephone to them."

"By telegraph in code?"

"What for? It's all the same. It will be in the papers tomorrow. And then? I'll ask. . . . The Duma. . . . Yes, transmit it in code."

I called up Nekrassoff and asked him to inform Goutchkoff, when he left the Tzar's car, of Rodzianko's desire. . . . .

Another telegram from Ivanoff to the same addressee:

"Send the second basket of bread."

"Transmit it to Kerensky."

Long, anxious minutes passed. It was about ten o'clock (22). Nekrassoff told me over the telephone his adventures in detail, but I hardly listened to him.

"They have left the car. . . . ."

"Go quickly to Goutchkoff. . . . . Alexander Alexandrovitch, they have left the car."

Twenty extremely long and anxious minutes passed.

"I am Nekrassoff. Member of the State Council Goutchkoff has turned over the Act of Abdication to the Commandant and wants to talk to Commissar Boublikoff himself."

Boublikoff locked himself in his office. In about five minutes the door opened widely:

"I congratulate you . . . Nicholas has abdicated. But remember, while this Act has not been received it is a secret. Not a word."

In a few minutes, however, I had disregarded this request. Ivanoff again called me:

"In accordance with the order of His Imperial Majesty, I order you to allow me, with all my eschalons, to go to Petrograd."

"General, by order of which Emperor? Nicholas II. has abdicated. . . . ."

The conversation was suddenly interrupted. In a few minutes there followed another request to let the train go back to headquarters. It was physically impossible to hold up the train and I did not feel like letting it go to Headquarters.

"The General demands an additional locomotive."

"All right, give it to him. But order the water let out of both tenders."

"Yes, sir."

And thus, after traveling seven versts, the General was stopped for the night by his locomotives running out of water: The Vindavskaya naturally did not hasten to send a relief locomotive.

A call from the Northwestern:

"Gavaloff and Nekrassoff, by order of Goutchkoff, ask that the Imperial train be allowed to go to Headquarters."

"Alexander Alexandrovitch, a request is made to let Nicholas go to Headquarters. This is beyond my understanding. Talk it over with the Duma yourself."

From the next room arguing voices were heard. . . . .

"—It is ordered to let it through . . . and then they ask us to transmit the Act of Abdication as soon as possible."

"Connect me with Nekrassoff. . . Yes, I am Lomonosoff. What about the Act of Abdication?"

"The Commandant is coding it. I begged that it be given to me to give to you. He refused. I told Goutchkoff. He said that it made no difference."

"All right, but why don't you go back?"

"Just for the same reason. The Gatchina soldiers have sent a deputy to Louga to convince themselves that the eschalons have really gone over to us. We are waiting. Goutchkoff is with General Russky. They are conferring."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the Duma is calling."

"Hasten the transmission of the Act of Abdication. We are waiting. It must be published specially."

"But where will you publish it?" I asked, almost automatically.

"Yes, that is a question. Our means are quite limited and the state printing office is not working."

"Possibly we can help you. I will inquire about our own printing office." Incidentally, the manager of the printing office happened to be still at the Ministry at that late hour. We dis-

cussed the organizing of the publication of this work. I reported to the Duma.

"But you understand that this is a secret. No one is to know about it until publication."

"All right. We will let all those go who are not to work directly on the publication and put a guard at the printing office."

"That's fine. Then you will be the first Revolutionary Secretary of State."

"I am proud of it."

"As soon as the text is received send it to the Duma and begin to set it up."

"I do not promise. The printers do not come until eight in the morning."

"All right. Only hurry."

I again rang up Pskov.

"The Commandant is coding it very slowly. We will begin transmission soon."

"The Imperial train has left."

"Do you know the context of the Act of Abdication?"

"I guess at it, but cannot say."

"Gentlemen, order the Northwestern to transmit this telegram directly here."

We waited. Midnight was approaching.

March 3rd

Lebedeff was again on watch. Arapoff was assisting him. Rotmeister Sosnovsky went again to look over the guard in the Minister's apartment and returned from there quite red and exceptionally jolly. He said something incoherent of an attempt of some soldiers to rob the Minister's apartment which was unoccupied, as Trepoff had not yet removed his furniture and Krieger had not yet moved in. I sent a trustworthy man to find out what was the matter. It was true, there were attempts to rob the place, especially the cellar. Our brave Rotmeister saved the cellar and as a reward, Mme. Trepoff had ordered him to be given wine for his table. I did not like it, and told Boublikoff the whole story.

"It sounds like the truth."

"What?"

"That he has been given wine for his table."

"That is . . . ?"

"Do you think that if this brave young man had succeeded in getting into the cellar he would have been able to return? Mme. Trepoff would not have gained by that and good wine she has."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch," Lebedeff shouted, "Lobanoff reports, first that Goutchkoff is leaving, and second, that they have started to transmit the Act of Abdication. But it is addressed to Col. Shakhoff and is coded in the Military Code."

"How is that and who is this Colonel?"

"The same that sent the eschalons."

"Strange, very strange . . . What do you think, Alexander Alexandrovitch?"

Boublikoff, yawning, cursed in his sleep and ordered the Duma called up. We went away. After all the trouble we had gone through with General Ivanoff and waiting for the Act of Abdication we were all rather nervous. We could not work and conversation flagged.

"Well, my friends," said Boublikoff, appearing at the door, "I am going to sleep. It's a long procedure. Concerning the Act of Abdication, we are ordered to wait its transmission and decoding by the Colonel. Make arrangements with him and as soon as it is ready send it by automobile with two soldiers to the Duma. Yes, and when Goutchkoff's train arrives in Gatchina, ring up the Duma. Rodzianko wants to meet this old adventurer. And by the way, the apartment to which Ivanoff's telegrams were addressed is occupied by a member of the Duma, Sviatopolk-Mirsky."

"Is that the same that wanted the reintroduction of serfdom?"

"Yes, the same. They arrested that fellow. Evidently he was acting the part of go-betwen for Ivanoff and Alexandra Feodorovna (the Tzarina)."

Boublikoff went to sleep and we kept awake. Finally, with difficulty we got the Colonel on the telephone. At first he said that the Act of Abdication would be decoded in two hours, but then it appeared that it had to be corrected by a second transmission, as in one place it could not be deciphered. And time kept on passing . . . The Duma was also anxious and several times inquired, "Then when will it be ready?" I called up the Colonel myself.

"Well, Colonel, may I send an automobile for the Act of Abdication?"

"What automobile?"

"To take it to the Duma."

"Yes . . . You know the correction is still going on. But, pardon me, I don't clearly understand, what have you to do with it, Professor? And besides that, the telegram is addressed to the Chief of Staff. I will report to the superiors. Ring up in half an hour."

"The devil take it! This is suspicious. It is clear that he is delaying purposely. Call up the Northwestern. Ready? Find out on the telephone with whom Col. Shakhoff has been talking all this time. . . . Aha, he has spoken several times with Pskov and Alexandrevskaya . . . Excellent . . . Disconnect his telephone . . . What? He has a city telephone? Gregory Vasilivitch, call up the city exchange and in the name of the Commissar demand the disconnection of Col. Shakhoff's telephone. But tell the Northwestern that they are to connect him with us at any time."

"It should be reported to the Duma."

"Possibly."

I reported and after the liberation decided at any rate to arrest the Colonel and take the Act of Abdication. Soldiers and a truck were sent from the Duma for him. I asked that some one should go to Lobanoff and that the latter should call me up.

We waited. It was already about five o'clock in the morning. The Rotmeister was telling us some of his impressions of the war . . . Brrrrr . . .

"I am Lobanoff. The office of the manager of troop movements is surrounded by your soldiers. The order for his arrest has been received. What are your orders?"

"Enter and demand the Act of Abdication. If he refuses, give a signal and let the soldiers come in."

"Yes, sir."

"And connect me with the Colonel . . . Hello . . . Colonel, is that you? What about the Act of Abdication?"

"Strange thing, all my telephones are out of order . . . "

"That happens, but what about the Act?"

"Almost ready. We are copying it" . . .

" . . . One second, here is Engineer Lobanoff . . . Oh, he is acting under your orders."

"Are you willing, Colonel, to give the Act of Abdication to Lobanoff immediately?"

"You see . . . On account of the telephone I wasn't able to talk it over with the superiors. . . ."

"I am simply informing you of the orders of the President of the Duma."

"I am at loss . . ."

"Give the receiver to Lobanoff. Is that you? Take all copies away from him."

I hung up the receiver. We waited. About ten long minutes passed.

"Brrrrr . . . It has been done. We took it away."

"And what about Goutchkoff's train?"

"In about twenty minutes it will arrive in Gatchina."

"Thank you. Gentlemen, inform the Duma. Well, it seems that all . . ."

I began to go over the routine work of the Ministry. In general, the aspect of the operation of trains was very satisfactory. Only on the Southeastern there had been snow storms.

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, Goutchkoff's train is arriving. The automobile from the Duma met him but Rodzianko did not arrive."

I waited. In a quarter of an hour the receiver was handed me. "Inspector Nekrassoff wants to talk to you."

"Arrived. Well, and trouble there was with Gatchina eschalons. But now they are peaceful."

"You had better tell me the details."

"The substance you know. Abdication in favor of Michael. Goutchkoff says that Nicholas has always given him the impression of a man with a small wooden soul. He was continually interested in how he was going to live now. It was wonderful to see that when the Deputies came out from their car the soldiers stood at attention. The Deputies wanted to talk it over with General Russky first but Nicholas insisted that they should be taken directly to him. In the car, beside the Tzar, there were Fredericks and Russky. I am awfully tired. Good-bye. I will come to you with a report about twelve."

I was meditating . . . It had happened. Nicholas had abdictated and Michael II, had succeeded to the throne. It is said

that all this had been foretold to him, as well as that he would be the last of the Romanoffs.

"Well, we must announce it to the guard. "Emperor Nicholas has abdicated in favor of his brother . . . Hooray for His Majesty, Michael II.? Let the Rotmeister assemble the guard . . . But the abdication has not been published . . . and then, how will the people take it? I will wait." All these thoughts passed through my mind.

"Listen, friend," I told one of the students, "it is too early to announce officially the abdication but you just inform the soldiers that Nicholas has abdicated in favor of his brother and casually overhear what they say."

The student went out and I again began to meditate. "What will happen now? A responsible Ministry with the Octobrist Rodzianko at its head? Rodzianko will be put in Golitzin's place and in the place of Pokrovsky—Milukoff, and that's all? And then reforms and war? Reforms under Rodzianko's guidance, what sort of reforms will these be . . . ?" The student returned confused.

"Complete apathy, Uriy Vladimirovitch. No impression whatsoever. 'Horse-radish is no sweeter than plain radish,' they say."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the President of the Duma is calling you."

"Yes, sir. I am Lomonosoff."

"Where is Goutchkoff?"

"I don't know. He arrived an hour ago. I will inquire immediately."

"I will send you immediately the Act of Abdication. Publish it right away."

"How many?"

"About five thousand and possibly more, but send the first hundred immediately to the Duma."

"Yes, sir."

We called the Northwestern.

"Goutchkoff is talking with deputations."

We called again.

"Will soon leave."

It was already about eight o'clock when we called a third time. None of the superiors could be found. I sent Lebedoff and waited. The Duma called continuously. Finally, a little

Ставка

Начальнику Штаба

Въ дни великой борьбы съ внѣшнимъ врагомъ, стремящимся почти три года поработить нашу родину, Господу Богу угодно было ниспослать Россіи новое тяжкое испытаніе. Начавшіяся внутреннія народныя волненія грозятъ бѣдственно отразиться на дальнѣйшемъ веденіи упорной войны. Судьба Россіи, честь геройской нашей арміи, благо народа, все будущее дорогого нашего Отечества требуетъ доведенія войны во что бы то ни стало до побѣднаго конца. Жестокій врагъ напрягаетъ послѣднія силы и уже близокъ часъ, когда доблестная армія наша совмѣстно со славными нашими союзниками сможетъ окончательно сломить врага. Въ эти рѣшительные дни въ жизни Россіи, почли Мы долгомъ совѣсти облегчить народу НАШЕМУ тѣсное единеніе и сплоченіе всѣхъ силъ народныхъ для скорѣйшаго достиженія побѣды и, въ согласіи съ Государственною Думою, признали Мы за благо отречься отъ Престола Государства Россійскаго и сложить съ СЕБЯ Верховную власть. Не желая разставаться съ любимымъ Сыномъ НАШИМЪ, Мы передаемъ наслѣдіе НАШЕ Брату НАШЕМУ Великому Князю МИХАИЛУ АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧУ и благословляемъ Его на вступленіе на Престолъ Государства Россійскаго. Заповѣдуемъ Брату НАШЕМУ править дѣлами государственными въ полномъ и ненарушимомъ единеніи съ представителями народа въ законодательныхъ учрежденіяхъ, на тѣхъ началахъ, кои будутъ Ими установлены, принеся въ томъ нерушимую присягу. Во имя горячо любимой родины призываемъ всѣхъ вѣрныхъ сыновъ Отечества къ исполненію своего святого долга передъ Нимъ повиновеніемъ Царю въ тяжелую минуту всенародныхъ испытаній и помочь ЕМУ, вмѣстѣ съ представителями народа, вывести Государство Россійское на путь побѣды, благоденствія и славы. Да поможетъ Господь Богъ Россіи.

Г. Псковъ. 2-7 Марта 15 час. мин. 1917 г.

Министръ Императорскаго Двора...
Генералъ Адъютантъ Графъ Фредериксъ

Facsimile of the original Act of Abdication of Nicholas.

(Translation of the Act of Abdication.)

General Headquarters.

To the Chief of Staff.

In the days of the great struggle against the foreign enemy who, for the last three years, has been trying to enslave the land of our birth, it has pleased Almighty God to lay a new heavy burden upon Russia. The internal and popular disturbances which have started, threaten to react badly upon the further continuation of stubborn war. The fate of Russia, the honor of our heroic army, the welfare of the people and the entire future of our dear Fatherland demand the continuation of the war by all means to a victorious termination. The merciless enemy is straining his last powers and the hour is near when our heroic army, together with our honorable Allies, shall finally and completely break the enemy. In these decisive days in the life of Russia, WE have determined, as a duty of conscience, to help OUR people to undivided unity and the concentration of all the strength of the people for the swift attainment of victory, and, with the approval of the Duma, WE have decided, for the sake of general welfare, to abdicate from the throne of the Russian Empire and to remove from OURSELF the supreme power. Not wishing to be separated from OUR beloved son, WE give over OUR inheritance to OUR brother, Grand Duke MICHAEL ALEXANDROVITCH and give HIM OUR blessing upon his ascent to the throne of the Russian Empire. WE instruct OUR brother to conduct the affairs of the State in complete and inseparable unity with the representatives of the people in the legislative institutions, on a basis which will be established by them. Having given an inviolable oath in the name of our dearly beloved country, WE call upon all true sons of the Fatherland to fulfill their holy duties toward HIM, to submit to the Tzar in this hard moment, all the hardships of the people, and to help HIM, together with the representatives of the people, to lead the Russian Empire on the path of victory, prosperity and honor. Almighty God, help Russia.

NICHOLAS.

City of Pskov.
March 24, 15 hours, 5 minutes. 1917. *

Minister of the Imperial House,
Adjutant-General Count Fredericks.

* 3.05 P. M.

after nine, having lost patience, I took an automobile and went to the Warsaw station.

It was a clear, frosty morning; but you could already feel Spring in the air. The city was wholly covered with red flags. There was a tremendous mass of people and the nearer we got to the station the denser became the masses. Slowly the auto crawled through this living sea towards the station. Suddenly I saw Lebedeff approaching, walking slowly in his sporty fur overcoat with a turned-up collar. I gave a joyful cry, but he was disturbed and motioned to me to keep quiet. I ordered the chauffeur to turn, which was a difficult task in this mass of people. Finally we turned and on the other side of the bridge, in the place where Pleve was killed, we caught up with Lebedeff. He stepped into the automobile, his face very perturbed.

"Where is the Act? Where is Goutchkoff?"

"Here is the Act," said Lebedeff hoarsely, giving me a paper. "Goutchkoff's arrested by the workmen."

"What?" I stuttered, putting the Act of Abdication into the left-hand pocket of my coat.

"I will tell you all in the Ministry."

We silently entered Boublikoff's office. Dobrovolsky and a number of employees were sitting there.

"Well, what?"

"Nothing, but . . . Alexander Alexandrovitch, I have something very confidential to tell you."

"Excuse me, Gentlemen, for one minute. No one is to be admitted."

We four remained, Boublikoff, Dobrovolsky, Lebedeff and myself.

"What is the matter?"

"Goutchkoff is arrested . . . Here is the Act of Abdication."

As sensational as was the news of the arrest of Goutchkoff, the eyes of all of us focused upon the paper which I placed upon the table.

"Finally got there . . ." said Boublikoff after a few minutes silence. "So we shall give an oath to Michael . . . ? Yes, but what about Goutchkoff?"

"When his train arrived in Petrograd a mob met him," began Lebedeff. "He delivered two speeches at the station . . . and then went to a meeting in the shops."

"An old adventurer," muttered Boublikoff.

"When I arrived, he was already in the shops and Schulgin and a Member of the Duma, Lebedeff, together with the high officials were sitting in the office of the Chief of the Station. It was known that there was unrest in the shops. The atmosphere was alarming. Then it was said from the shops that Goutchkoff had been arrested, that the Act of Abdication had not been found on him and that they were going to search other Deputies to destroy the Act."

"What for?"

"The 'Comrades' Bookbinders want to remove the Tzar and all the rest . . . An abdication is not enough for them."

"And then?"

"Then Deputy Lebedeff turned over the Act to me and I quietly and surreptitiously ran away."

"And Goutchkoff and the other Deputies?"

"I do not know."

"I will talk it over with Rodzianko and you, gentlemen, find out what has happened to the other Deputies."

The Commissars shut themselves in and we went to our own rooms. The Act of Abdication actually burned my left side. We were informed by telephone that Goutchkoff had been liberated and that, with Schulgin and Lebedeff, he had gone to the Duma. With this news I went to the Commissars. They presented a complete contrast. Calm, I might even say indifferent, Dobrovolsky, dressed like a fashion plate, was absent-mindedly inspecting his finger nails. Boublikoff, completely lost, untidily dressed, his face showing lack of sleep, was running about the room darting glances here and there and cursing like a pagan.

From their quite incoherent words I understood that in the city the situation was approximately the same as at the station. The majority of workmen were against abdication. Hot discussions about it had been going on in the Duma between the Committee and the Soviets since early in the morning, or rather since night. The Soviet had been strengthened by soldier deputies.

"The Act of Abdication is being searched for throughout the city. Possibly they will come here."

"Where is it?" asked Dobrovolsky.

"In my pocket."

"This won't do. It must be hidden."

"Put it in a safe? Put a guard over it?"

"No, put it in a most inconspicuous place and not in this room. . . . Of course, the saving or destruction of this document will not change the situation, but nevertheless . . . First, the abdication releases the troops from their oath . . . secondly, its destruction would only give new hopes to the black powers."

"And shouldn't we take a few copies of the Act first, Anatoly Alexandrovitch?" (Dobrovolsky).

"Yes, but no one must know about it. We will make up a Committee of Three for the preservation of the 'lost Act'."

"No, of four. Lebedeff saved it."

"Correct. Call him in."

Lebedeff came in. He was informed of the situation and we went with him to the Secretariat room to make copies. The Commissars began to receive reports from the different departments of the Ministry. Lebedeff was dictating while I wrote. When the copy was ready, I called in the Commissars. All four of us certified the copy and we hid the original between some old, dusty official newspapers which were on the bookcase in the room. "Now we may begin to publish from the copy," said I.

"No, it is necessary to ask the Duma," argued Dobrovolsky.

"What for? The sooner the Act is published the sooner this turmoil will end. And then the composition, proofreading and publishing will require time and beside that the printers are waiting."

"No, we must ask."

In a few minutes an order followed: "Do not print, but the printers are not to leave." Counting the number of words in the Act of Abdication I nevertheless went to the Ministerial printing office to confer with the manager of it as to how to organize the work. I was soon called out from there.

A new order from the Duma—to take the Abdication to 21 Milionaya.

"What is this for?"

"That is the apartment of Michael Alexandrovitch." (Grand Duke Michael). (Later it proved to be the apartment of Prince Putiatin, which had been offered by him to the Grand Duke for his pourparlers with the representatives of the Committee of the Duma.)

"Do as you please, gentlemen," I protested. "But after the Abdication has once been in such danger, to subject it to such

danger a second time is unpardonable. Michael will believe our copy."

So it was decided. Lebedeff took a copy to that address. From the Duma they called again and said that we would receive the order for publication from the apartment on the Milionaya.

In the printing shop everything was in readiness. We waited. Lebedeff called.

"I turned over the copy. The conference began. I was asked to wait to return the copy to you for publication. Our telephone is so and so."

We were getting inquiries as to the situation from all parts of Russia. We decided not to answer until the result of the conference in the Milionaya should be known.

"What is going on there?" We called up. Lebedeff gave evasive answers. Evidently he did not want to speak on the telephone. Boublikoff sent Sidelnikoff there. Our entire attention was concentrated on Milionaya. The conversation involuntarily turned to the events possibly taking place there. The basic question, just as in the morning, was the same: "Abdication or removal?" Michael could abdicate also. Only one man, Roulevsky, was determined upon removal, and then only conditionally. All the rest were for abdication. Of course, removal was much more effective and more spectacular. But who is to think of spectacles at present? The country was at war and removal would only cause conflicts in the army. No. Abdication and only abdication. And what then? Practically all of us were for a Constitutional Monarchy.

"The people need a Tzar. They are used to the symbol. Now, under the presure of events, we may make up almost any sort of a Constitution that suits us."

"You don't live by a Constitution. You must also put life in order. At present we have a problem and warfare . . ."

"Do you know what the soldiers say about Michael? 'Horse radish is no sweeter than plain radish . . .' Michael or Alexis, it's all the same. The peasant has only one thought—land."

"A Parliamentary régime means extensive reforms, universal ballot, land reforms first of all, and the Tzar is a historic emblem of power."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, you are asked to come to the print shop."

I went. It was already about two o'clock. The printers were protesting. I tried to explain and convince them of the historic importance of the moment and gave them money for dinner.

Returning from the print shop, I found Inspector Nekrassoff. He told in detail of his journey with Goutchkoff. Of most interest, of course, was the incident of the arrest.

"We came to the meeting. One orator after another spoke. Goutchkoff went over to the Chairman. At first he was polite and asked him to wait and then he said, 'Who are you?' 'I am Member of the State Council Goutchkoff.' 'How can you prove it?' Goutchkoff began to explain but the mass of people began to shout, 'Arrest him, arrest him!' At this time I jumped up on the table and began to argue that all Russia knew Goutchkoff and that we had brought with us the Act of Abdication . . . Pourparlers began. We were politely kept another twenty minutes and then liberated."

Lebedeff appeared.

"Well, what, what?"

"Michael has abdicated in favor of the Constituent Assembly. Nekrassoff is writing the act. A Provisional Government will be formed." Boublikoff was informed of the same from the Duma. Prince Lvoff was to be at the head of the Provisional Government. Evidently the Duma had decided upon it some time ago and that fact, namely that Prince Lvoff was appointed by the Tzar President of the Council of Ministers, points to the fact that between the Duma and Nicholas II, there were certain relations unknown to us. Most likely, the communication had been through General Russky by telephone between Pskov and General Headquarters.

"And thus the monarchy in Russia has fallen," I said, full of thought.

"Doubtful," answered Lebedeff. "Michael, by his gentlemanly action, has considerably strengthened his chances for election."

"Possibly . . . Tell us the details."

"The apartment is quite plain. Two maids were serving breakfast as though nothing had happened."

"Did you see Michael?"

"I did. His appearance was quite contented. He was walking around the room unperturbed. It was not even necessary

to argue with him. 'You, gentlemen, see better what is the wish of the people.' "

"Who sees it? The people, as Pushkin says, are inarticulate. Petrograd is not the whole of Russia."

But in general the feeling was one of joy and exaltation, as in a dream. Provisional Government, Constituent Assembly . . . all holy words and here they were being transformed into life.

I went into the Commissar's. Boublikoff was just finishing a conversation with somebody on the telephone. He hung up the receiver and began to laugh.

"Guess with whom I have just been talking."

"I don't know."

"With former Minister Trepoff. He begs to be arrested."

"What for?"

"He says it is frightful. Soldiers may break in. . . . Tell the Rotmeister to send soldiers."

"Alexander Alexandrovitch, Trepoff wants to speak to you again."

"I listen. . . . Krivoshein and your brother have come to you. . . . I understand. . . . Arrest them also? With pleasure."

Not an hour had elapsed before our involuntary guests had arrived. They were brought into the Commissar's and offered tea. It was getting dark. The rays of the setting sun were giving the room a fiery red illumination. The guests felt wonderful. . . . Brrrrr! Boublikoff was informed from the Duma of the composition of the Provisional Government. All were attention. He dictated freely.

"The President—Prince Lvoff. He is also Minister of the Interior. Minister of Foreign Affairs—Milukoff. Military and Naval—Goutchkoff. Agriculture—Shingareff. Finance—Tereshtchenko. Who? Michael Ivanovitch? Yes, Tereshtchenko. Commerce—Konovaloff. Ways of Communication—Nekrassoff. Justice—Kerensky. State Comptroller—Vladimir Lvoff. Education—not yet known.

All were silent.

The first that broke the silence was Krivoshein. Not speaking to anyone, he said, "This government has one serious . . . very serious fault. It is entirely too conservative . . . Yes, conservative. Two months ago it would have satisfied everybody. It would have saved the situation. Now it is too moderate and

in this is its weakness. Now you want power . . . and thus, gentlemen, you are sacrificing not only your child, revolution, but our common Fatherland, Russia."

I was surprised at the words of this old Minister of the Tzar, experienced as he was in life. One heard in them not only wisdom but real truth as well. Possibly, besides that, my egotism, that of a practical "creator" was hurt. But the whole composition of this Ministry did not please me. Pray, what kind of a Minister of Finance was Tereshtchenko? A nice, cultured youth, always nicely dressed, who was employed in a ballet and had tremendous success with ballet girls. But what were Finances to him and what was he to Finances? Russian Finances, unbalanced by the war? And Nekrassoff was a Cadet, a Constitutional Democrat, an idealist . . . a Professor of Statistics of Construction who was acquainted with railroads in his student years and in the Duma. . . . Could one compare him with Krieger? And why should they not take Boublikoff or Dobrovolsky from the same Duma? Or, from our midst, Voskresensky, Schmitt . . . or even Shingareff who unquestionably is a man of brains? But he is by education a physician and in the Duma was only a member of the Committee on Finance. And what had this to do with Agriculture and Settlements? The same Krivoshein is so much more able than he. . . . No. It was wrong.

Vaguely I formulated my thoughts.

"Yes, all are platform social workers," answered Krivoshein, rather to my thoughts than to my words. "The roles have changed. You, gentlemen, accept the Ministerial posts and we will work in social organizations . . . and criticise you."

"Only that your criticism will be based on experience. It is one thing to talk and another to know what is practicable and what is not."

From the Duma they telephoned that both the Acts of Abdication should be printed on one sheet. I called up the Milionaya. Sidelnikoff had already left. With the Rotmeister I sent down to the printing office and we stationed the guard, a measure, as the future showed,—wholly unnecessary. At three o'clock the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies had already issued a hand bill: "Nicholas II has abdicated in favor of his brother, Michael, and he, in his turn, has abdicated in favor of the people." I first read to the compositors the abdication of Nicholas. They

listened attentively. One old man was crossing himself. I then began to dictate word after word to six compositors. I was called to the telephone which was guarded by a sentry.

"Please, come up."

I gave the dictation to a student and went upstairs. There were Sidelnikoff and my old colleague, Baron V. B. Tisenhausen.

"Let's have the Act of Abdication."

"It's not here. Taken to the Duma. They will turn it over later. Set up the first."

"It is being set up. What are you doing here, my dear Baron?"

"I came to ask to be allowed to work for the Revolution."

"Excellent. Come with me as an assistant in the composing room. Let us go there."

Having regulated the work in the composing room, I again went upstairs. Evening set in. The electric lights were burning. Sidelnikoff was relating his impressions.

"I sat in the hall an hour, another hour. I began to get bored. An elderly man in a coat came over to me. We began to talk and then he introduced himself. Grand Duke Nicholas Michailovitch.' * I also bowed and introduced myself as Counselor at Law Sidelnikoff and we continued our convention. 'How many times,' he said, 'have I explained to him, the fool, how this would end. He didn't listen to me and here is where he is. In December, for our own sakes, all we Grand Dukes sent him a deputation: 'Imprison your wife, form a responsible Ministry.' He didn't even listen. He was always without a will and his wife took away the last he had. . . ."

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, the eschalons on the Vindavskaya are destroying the station."

"Well, now they can be taken to their destination."

The same disturbances took place on the Nicholaievskaya.

" 'When wood is cut, splinters fly.' People break loose sometimes. Call up the Duma and let them sign the Act of Abdication."

"Prince Lvoff has the Act of Abdication and he will not arrive at the Duma before eight o'clock. The first meeting of the Council of Ministers will take place at eight."

In a few moments there came another call. They asked us to bring to the meeting the original of the Abdication of Nicho-

* A well known historian.

По поручению Комитета
членов Государственной
Думы, предлагаю пропускать
автомобиль №1717 с шофером
Иваном Роговским
по городу и во двор Мини-
стерства Путей Сообщения
По поручению Комитета
Государственной Думы
Член Государственной Думы

Начальник Охраны
Ротмистр Сосновского

УПРАВЛЕНИЕ ЖЕЛѢЗНЫХЪ ДОРОГЪ.

3/III-17

By order of the Committee of Members of the Duma, I recommend that Automobile No. 1717 with the chauffeur Ivan Rogovsky be allowed to pass throughout the city and into the yard of the Ministry of Ways of Communication.

By order of the Committee of the Duma.
Official Seal. Member of the Duma Boublikoff.
3-3-17. Chief of Guard Rotmeister Sosnovsky.

las. Having consulted with Boublikoff, we decided that I, accompanied by Sidelnikoff, should take the "lost Act" to the Duma and hand it to the Head of the Government, Prince Lvoff.

I ran again into the composing room, talked again with the railroads and then we began to look for the Act of Abdication. It was not to be found. . . . Here was a case. A second time, a third time. . . . I felt cold perspiration on my back. I began to shake every newspaper separately. Heavens, from one of them the Act fell out.

We went. The automobile traveled very rapidly. On the Vladimirskaya we were stopped by soldiers.

"Get out. The automobile is needed for a special purpose."

"We are also going on special business. Here is a pass for the automobile." *

"I am an Assistant Commissar. I am going to a meeting of the Council of Ministers."

The soldiers began a consultation.

"Let them go, the madmen!"

We went on. At the Duma, notwithstanding the late hour there were many people. There was no guard. I entered the half dark Ekaterininsky Hall, dirty, covered with spit. Here in the hall were people selling cigarettes, confectionery and all sorts of rubbish. Everyone of them had established a stand. There were plenty of people conversing in groups. Soldiers were predominating. In the center of the hall Professor Artemeff was standing agitatedly. He ran to me and began to explain the significance of the events. I finally got rid of him. I inquired where the Duma Committee was, where were the ministers, nobody knew. I was sent from one place to another. Finally it was explained to me that I should go to the main entrance in the left wing. We went through a corridor. . . . At one of the doors Junkers were standing guard. "Well," I thought, "this is the place." They said "Yes," but would not admit us under any consideration. The situation was a stupid one. It was already half past nine.

Suddenly the door opened and there appeared my old acquaintance, Deputy Lashkevitch from Kharkoff. I took him aside and explained the situation. He took us to a small room where Deputies and Ministers were sitting around in groups. At the right there was a door into another room. These two rooms were the headquarters of the Committee of the Duma?

* See preceding page.

Why had Rodzianko left his beautiful office? Why was the Committee hiding itself in the back rooms? I felt hurt.

"Gentlemen," announced Lashkevitch, "the Abdication of Nicholas has been brought here."

Milukoff, Nabokoff, Vladimir Lvoff and Godneff came over to us and began to examine the Act of Abdication. The others continued their conversations. Undecisiveness made itself felt. I had gone to the sanctum of the Russian Revolution, to heroes, and had found frightened pigmies. In our Ministry life was in full swing. Here was a dead kingdom and I felt lost. It was as painful as though I had suddenly come upon the burial of a dead friend.

. . . To the burial of my dream.

Nekrassoff noticed me from the room. He came over and asked me what I was doing there.

"I have brought the Abdication of Nicholas."

"Let me have it."

"Pardon me, but I will give it either to the President of the Council of Ministers, as head of the Russian Government, or to the Minister of Justice, as Attorney-General."

"But they are not here. You probably have plenty to do at your Ministry. And then, I am your superior."

"In the first place, you have not yet taken office as Minister of Ways of Communication. Secondly, I agreed with the others to turn it in to the head of the government and thirdly, I must get from Prince Lvoff the text of Michael's Abdication."

"Well, do as you please." He shrugged his shoulders and went into the other room.

Sidelnikoff and I looked at each other. Laughter could be seen in his eyes.

It was already about ten o'clock and the Prince had not yet arrived. Shingareff and Tereshtchenko arrived and then came Konovaloff. From their conversation I understood that there had been two more appointments: Stakhevitch as Minister of Finland, and Kokoshkin as Minister of Poland. One of the Ministers asked me how Kokoshkin could be brought to Petrograd immediately.

"He is required at tomorrow's meeting."

"Quite plain. About eleven o'clock an express train is leaving Moscow. In the morning he will be in Petrograd. I will order him a compartment."

"He will probably not make the eleven o'clock train."

"Then I will order a special train if it is necessary."

All looked at each other.

"How long will that take?"

"Well, to order the train, about five or six minutes. But please make arrangements with Kokoshkin by telephone and tell me the exact time he will leave. Otherwise we will cripple traffic."

In about five minutes, Kokoshkin notified us by telephone that he would be ready at two o'clock.

"It is immaterial whether it is two or three. The special train will connect with the whole series of expresses just the same. I will immediately give orders by telephone for three o'clock. But please notify Kokoshkin not to hold up the train for one minute."

I began to dictate on the telephone: "Petrograd. To Nicholaievskaya. N.* I beg that a special train be made up on March 4th, for Minister Kokoshkin, from Moscow to Petrograd, to consist of one car, first class, to leave Moscow about three. Passenger arriving in Petrograd about eleven. Tickets as per number of passengers. Inform Minister Kokoshkin by telephone in Moscow of the exact time of departure . . ." I turned to ask the number of the telephone. The surprise and dread with which the Ministers regarded me as I was performing this simple operation of ordering a train was worth seeing. About half past ten Prince Lvoff showed up, frightened and completely lost. He brought the Abdication of Michael.

We waited for Kerensky a short time and then sat down. In order to dismiss us (myself and Sidelnikoff) they began with the question of publishing the Acts of Abdication.

"What shall we call these documents?"

"In reality these are the manifestos of two Emperors," said Milukoff.

"But Nicholas," answered Nabokoff, "has given his abdication another form—that of a telegram to the Chief of Staff. We cannot change this form. . . ."

"Right. But the one of decisive importance is the Abdication of Michael Alexandrovitch. It is written in your hand, Vladimir Dmitrievitch (Nabokoff), and we can form it in any

* Chief and Director-General of Railroads.

Тяжкое бремя возложено на Меня Волею Брата Моего, передавшего Мне Императорский Наследственный Престол в годину вооруженной войны и волнений народных.

Объятый единою со всем народом мыслию, что выше всего для Родины нашей, принял Я твердое решение в том лишь случае воспринять Верховную власть, если такова будет ясно выраженная воля великого народа нашего, которому надлежит всенародным голосованием, через представителей своих в Учредительное Собрание, установить образ правления и новые основные законы Государства Российского.

Посему, призывая благословение Божие, прошу всех гражданских Держав Российской подчиниться Временному Правительству по почину Государственной Думы возникшему и облеченному всею полнотою власти, впредь до того, как созыв Учредительного Собрания, которое должно быть созвано в возможно кратчайший срок, на основе всеобщего, прямого равного и тайного голосования, определит своим решением об образе правления выражение воли народа. - Михаил

3/III - 1917
Петроградъ.

(Translation of the Act of abdication.)

A heavy task has been laid upon ME by MY BROTHER, who has given over to ME the Imperial Russian throne in a year of an unheard of war and of popular discontent.

Having the same thought as all other people, that above everything is the welfare of OUR COUNTRY, I have decided to accept the supreme power only on the condition that it should be the will of our great people, expressed through their representatives in the Constituent Assembly elected by universal ballot to establish the form of government and new basic laws for the Russian Empire.

Therefore, calling for the blessing of God, I ask all citizens of the Russian Empire to submit to the Provisional Government which has been created by the initiative of the Duma and which has complete power until the election of the Constituent Assembly, which election will take place as soon as possible on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret balloting and will determine the form of government and disclose the will of the people.

MICHAEL.
March 3, 1917.
Petrograd.

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way. Write: 'We, by grace of God, Michael II, Emperor and Autocrat of All-Russia, Tzar of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., etc., hereby make known to all our loyal subjects: the hard times . . .'"

"Please, please, but he did not rule."

A lively debate ensued.

"From the moment of the Abdication of Nicholas, Michael was the actual, lawful Emperor . . . Michael II," Nekrassoff argued. "He was Emperor almost twenty-four hours. . . . He only refused to accept the supreme power."

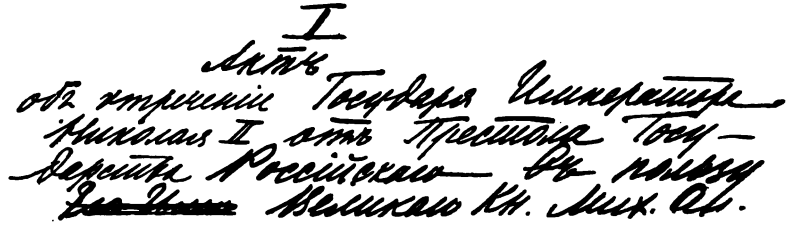
"Since there was no power there was no rule."

"You are dreadfully mistaken. What about the Emperors who were feeble-minded and minors?"

The debate went deeply into state law. Milukoff and Nabokoff foamed at the mouth trying to prove that the Abdication of Michael had a lawful significance only if it was agreed that he was Emperor.

March 4th.

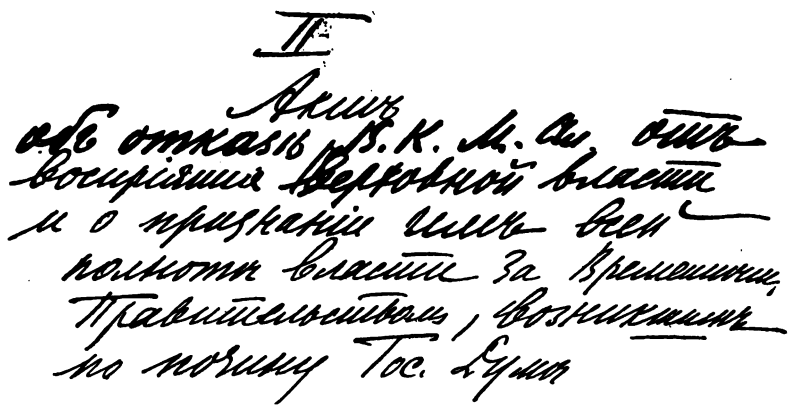
Midnight found us in this debate. Finally, about two o'clock, an understanding was reached. Nabokoff wrote on two pieces of paper the titles of the Acts.



I.

Act

of Abdication of the Emperor Nicholas II, from the throne of the Russian Empire in favor of the Grand Duke, Michael Alexandrovitch.



II.

Act

of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch refusing acceptance of the supreme power and acknowledging the full power of the Provisional Government created upon the initiative of the Duma.

Above these few lines a heading may be placed, "The result of the first six hours' work of the Provisional Government." With what bitterness I rode to the Ministry. "If this sort of talk is going on in the Cabinet, what will it be like in the Soviet? And what will be the position of this new institution while the Cabinet exists? How will they be able to live side by side? They must either converge into some sort of covenant or one must dissolve the other."

I arrived at the Ministry about three o'clock. There I found my wife who had come to see me and had brought me supper. She had been waiting for me since eleven o'clock. Baron Tisenhausen had been keeping her company and scolded me for being away so long. First of all, I ran with Tisenhausen to the print shop to arrange the setting up of the second Abdication. After that I returned to my wife. We talked a little while and then she went to spend the night at the Tisenhausen's. I, on the other hand, went to a room in which there was a divan and called in Boublikoff to share my supper. In the package I found a chicken, pie, and a half bottle of Madeira. Boublikoff made me wait for some time.

"Excuse me, I was talking with the Duma."

We ate and drank.

"Your health. We must talk seriously. I have had a long conversation with Rodzianko. Probably Nekrassoff will become Minister of Education and I will remain here."

"I can only congratulate . . . not you, but Russia."

"Yes, the question is one of assistants. You I will ask to remain in your place, that is, to be the Chief Assistant Minister. Another Assistant I also have in view, but who is to be the Director-General of Railways?"

"Thanks, Alexander Alexandrovitch. But allow me to be quite open with you. First of all, I would not like to receive anything for my participation in the revolution. Secondly, I do not think that I would be a good Assistant Minister, even with you. It seems to me that if it is necessary to utilize me, place me as Director-General or even as Chief of the Nicholaievskaya Railroad. I know it."

"And who will be Assistant Minister?"

"Voskresensky."

"He will not consent. He was to be a member of the Ministry."

"I think he will."

"Talk it over with him on the telephone."

The conversation dragged on until daybreak. We were compiling lists of appointments and discharges and discussing our first steps. I was called out a few times during this period to the composing room.

And nevertheless, I felt a certain bitterness. It would be said that I had staked my head, not for my country, but for a career.

Towards morning the Acts of Abdication were printed. Part of them was sent to the Duma, another part by my wife to Tzarskoye, and a third part I myself took to the Ministry of the Interior, distributing some to the people on the street. Firing had completely ceased. It was a sunny day. The streets were overflowing with people and there was general joy.

On the way an idea occurred to me to send a few hundred copies of the Acts for distribution at all the stations and shops of the railroads. The idea was original. I wanted to send them with a proclamation to my own people so as to see what was going on there.

Boublikoff sanctioned my idea.

"That's good," he said, "but, you know, we ought to telegraph first."

"All right. I will write the text." And in five minutes I gave Boublikoff the text of the telegram given below.

"What's the matter?" asked Dobrovolsky who entered the room.

Boublikoff gave him the telegram.

"I suppose I have to sign it too."

"Please do."

They signed it, but I forgot to change the singular for the plural and it was transmitted thus:

To all N.

Notify on line: Emperor Nicholas abdicated the throne on March 2, in favor of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. The Grand Duke, on March 3, refused to accept the supreme power until the establishment of a form of government by a Constituent Assembly convened on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret balloting. He has appealed to all citizens to submit to the Provisional Govern-

ment created by the Duma, which Government has full power until the Constituent Assembly shall decide upon the form of government. The President of the Council of Ministers is Prince Lvoff. Minister of Ways of Communication, Nekrassoff. The Act of Abdication is being sent. Complete order in the capital.

Member and Commissar of the Duma,
BOUBLIKOFF.
DOBROVOLSKY.

Yes, the capital was more or less quiet but this could not be said of even the nearest stations. Here, for instance, is a portion of a report of the Chief of the Station at Oredezh which was submitted to me by Pravosudovitch:

I earnestly beg of you to do something to safeguard the line and especially the station of Oredezh from pillage by drunken and hungry soldiers. The eschalons, as though purposely, are being held up in Oredezh either because of the shortage of locomotives or because the brigades refuse to go. All the stores were pillaged today. An attempt to loot the former provision station was prevented by my personal appeal to the troops. All the employees are terrorized and their last piece of bread is taken away from them. To many brigades I have given out bread which they actually did not need but for whom it was a certain emphatic protest that we must feed them, otherwise . . . etc.

Yesterday Locomotive No. 3 arrived carrying fifteen drunken soldiers who had been shooting all the way from Viritza. The employees refuse to go to work in the day time for fear of being shot.

Please report to the Director that he should inspect the lines and encourage the employees in their present difficult task. We must refuse to deliver bread to Petrograd because, as it is, so much dough has been lost before it could be baked, on account of the rioting of the soldiers: besides that, the peasants today looted the co-operatives and the freight station and we were obliged to give them out flour destined for shipment. The man in charge of the station was beaten and is almost dead. The situation is very threatening. We cannot telegraph or telephone. You yourself understand that I cannot write about everything.

We must have protection from outbreaks, and immediately.

March 2, 1917.

From other lines the same kind of reports came in. The soldiers were unruly.

Still worse was the condition in Kronstadt. The sailors were almost to a man Bolsheviki. They had expelled almost all the officers. The less popular ones they arrested and compelled them to clean the toilets. The members of the Duma who tried to go there had no success.

Also, at certain places on the railroads, the employees were beginning to get even with their unpopular superiors. I suggested to Boublikoff that all these hooligans should immediately be discharged. They had no place on the railroads.

"You're right, but you know, it's somewhat difficult while Nekrassoff is Minister."

"Talk it over with him."

The conversation was very heated and without result. Evidently Nekrassoff was to remain. Quite unexpectedly, about four o'clock, he came to the Ministry himself . . . with his wife. That lady looked at me strangely.* The Commissars locked themselves with the Nekrassoffs in the office and conferred for about two hours. At this time Kozireff, who had remained Chairman of the Engineering Soviet, arrived to take the Minister to the Soviet and introduce him to the members.

"Uriy Vladimirovitch, tell him about this."

I went in.

"No, you know . . . I'm not a member yet. And if I go I will have to say something and I haven't prepared anything."

When I told this to Kozireff he became angry and personally went to talk with Nekrassoff. He returned quite red.

The Ministry, with the exception of the presence of the soldiers, began to take on a more and more normal appearance. People began to come in, representatives of private railroads, factories, etc. Almost every minute some decision had to be made. Life went on feverishly. The chief obstacle was that of legality. The Duma had given out a motto: "The Revolution is ended. The new power must act strictly within the law. There is to be no usurpation of authority." This was all well

* It turned out later that we were old acquaintances.

and good, but the Tzar's laws still remained pretty bad. The juriscounsel almost never left my office. We codified all that had been done during the revolution and cleared up what had to be abolished and in what order. For the sake of simplicity, we prepared telegrams which the Minister was to sign, either himself, or with the Minister of the Interior, or after the matter had been taken up in the Council of Ministers. In the first place, we sent a Ministerial telegram abolishing the rules for the acceptance of railroad employees. That is, we abolished political spying in the Ministry. Secondly, a telegram was sent with instructions for the removal of all obstacles to the work of the Provisioning Committees. Thirdly, a telegram was sent abolishing the railroad gendarmerie.

Shabunevitch entered the office, one of the old employees of the Ministry, and handed in an anonymous paper bearing a request to all the extra employees of the Ministry to gather at five o'clock in the hall of the Committee for the purpose of forming a union.

"What do you order to be done?"

"Nothing. This is none of our business. This is the business of the Chief Clerk and he, I think, has no reason not to give the hall for the meeting after office hours."

"And what about the union?"

"That again does not concern us. It concerns only the employees. We cannot interfere with their organizations. It is their business. If they come to us with demands we will take them up. But meanwhile we must stand aside: neither encourage nor obstruct."

"Yes, sir."

"Please inform the office," I said to one of the employees, "to prepare a notice that no meetings are permitted during office hours."

It got dark. The Nekrassoffs and Dobrovolsky went away. Boublikoff was walking up and down in his office and then talked for a long time with the Duma. Then he suddenly appeared at the door.

"Well, friends, it's time to stop work. The Revolution has ended. The banks are open. We must celebrate. Filaret, order a supper in the club. We will remember our youth."

Thus, unexpectedly, a dinner was held of "those to be hanged." There were Boublikoff, Pavlovsky, Sidelnikoff, my-

self, Roulevsky, Lebedeff and Tiumeneff (from the Department of Operation). We opened a few bottles of champagne and drank toasts.

After the dinner I returned to the Ministry and began to work.

Sunday, March 5th.

About three o'clock I tried to lie down on the floor but could not fall asleep.

The entire morning was spent in conversations with the railroads. Freight from the south to Petrograd had reached an unheard of amount, 2,000 cars, and this during revolution. Our railroad men proved superior to their task.

Moscow had solemnly taken the oath to the Provisional Government on the Red Plaza.

In Petrograd, however, there was some trouble about the oath. Certain regiments were trying to evade the taking of the oath; and pourparlers were going on.

There was also trouble with the rank and file on the railroads. Instead of working, they attended meetings. The Soviet appointed a Commissar for each railroad. A short time before, the Commissar of the Nicholaievskaya had come to see me. He was a very intelligent man with a high school technical education, a Menshevik. We understood each other from the first few words. The movement of trains had to be kept up but at the same time the chief demands of the employees had to be crystalized. When they themselves realized exactly what they wanted, then we would bargain. The state, as employer, would unquestionably meet their demands but at present we had to work as much as possible.

It was much worse on the Vindavskaya. There the director was wise and liberal but his Soviet Commissar was an uncompromising and unyielding Bolshevik from the intellegentzia. They could not come to an understanding. As I was talking to the Duma, there suddenly appeared a telegram signed by Kerensky and Nekrassoff:

To all N.

Inform all employees and workmen that, with the approval of the Provisional Government, there is being organized at the Ministry of Ways of Communication a special Committee under the chairmanship of Deputy Dobrovolsky

for the rapid democratization of the rules of employment on railroads as well as for the revision of the material conditions of labor. In particular, the question of the representation of employees and workmen in the administration of the railroads will be decided upon. We invite, therefore, all employees and workmen to await the decision of this question and not to undertake immediately any steps of their own which may break up the regular work of the railroads so necessary during the present war and during the establishment of the new power.

No. 1788. Minister of Ways of Communication,
NEKRASSOFF.
Minister of Justice, KERENSKY.

Correct: Rozhko.

Boublikoff and I were thunderstruck. First of all, Nekrassoff had not yet assumed office. Secondly, what kind of representation of employees and workmen in the administration of the railroads were they speaking of? What kind of parliamentarism was possible in a railroad organization which has to work like a clock, submitting to a single will whose foundation lies in the command of each second?

"And what's most important," Boublikoff shouted, "we must give them something now, you understand, now, immediately! They will not be satisfied with a committee. This telegram must not be sent but rather the one prepared by the juris-counsel and yourself. This is a promise, the other is a real blessing. And what is most important, we must immediately dispose of all the rascals in the Ministry and especially in the railroads. Write a corresponding telegram."

"But who will be the Minister, and then, who is managing the Ministry now?" I asked.

Boublikoff did not answer but only glared and, locking himself in his office, he began to talk by telephone with the Duma. Evidently his relations with the Committee were getting more strained, and he was not going to be Minister.

"Despatch the telegram of Kerensky and Nekrassoff and don't ask me any questions," shouted Boublikoff through the half open door.

Roulevsky and I looked at each other and Boublikoff disappeared. About two hours passed at work unnoticed.

Roulevsky called me aside.

"We will not allow Alexander Alexandrovitch to go away. We will strike."

"You've lost your senses. What sort of a strike can there be now?"

"Eh, Uriy Vladimirovitch, this is only a beginning. . . . The time will come when we shall have to take the Ministry again, but by force. But so far Boublikoff is the man."

"Do not count on me. At the first attempt to create disorder I will take all lawful steps against you."

"Well, I'm not afraid of lawful means. And why are you getting so set on the law, anyway? By what law, pray tell me, does the Soviet exist?"

"We are not speaking of that now. I am heart and soul for Boublikoff and fully understand the incapacity of Nekrassoff. But I am against any kind of plots. . . ." We went to Boublikoff.

Boublikoff hesitated less than a minute and then decidedly accepted my point of view.

"We must show an example of submitting to rule. And then, nothing has been finally decided."

About three o'clock Nekrassoff arrived with Professor Novgorodtseff. They locked themselves in the Minister's office and began to prepare the manifesto of the Provisional Government. Toward evening the following text was given me for publication:

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT NOTIFIES CITIZENS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

"The old order has fallen. The inheritance of the degenerate autocracy, the chains binding the strength of the people are broken.

"The great overthrow has ended the long years of struggle which have taken so much strength, and the lives and liberties of so many of the best sons of our country.

"On October 17, 1905, it seemed that the people had won the victory. A Constitutional form of government was proclaimed. But the false and hypocritical powers, after submitting to the forced concessions, began to recuperate from the early blows and, by creating pernicious social division by means of pogroms and by inhuman and bloody executions, attempted from the first day to crush out our new

born liberties. Notwithstanding all the attempts of the old power, the first Duma formulated the fundamental demands of the people. The Duma was dissolved. The second gained no victory. In contradiction to fundamental law, the supreme power changed the election laws with a view of creating a docile Duma and during a period of many years, has continually fought the aspirations of the people, has put obstacles in the path of change, trying with all its might to maintain the old order, an order which gave no possibilities for the economic and cultural development of the people.

"The war broke out. All the governments of Western Europe understood that victory was to be gained only by straining all the strength of the people and by the unity of the people. They invited into their midst the most gifted and irreproachable people, those respected by the entire population. Nicholas II, as before, shunned contact with the people, taking care only that the power should remain in the hands of the adherents of the old order. He found them among low grafters, people without honor, incapable of understanding the needs of the state. These persons thought only of their own interests, neglected the popular defense, and some of them, whose names the people will not forget, in the face of the enemy bargained with the fate of the country and covered their names with treachery. And behind the back of this miserable government, the power of all those dark forces, criminal and licentious, was being strengthened. They were appointing and dismissing Ministers. Their ignorant voices were deciding the business of the state. The friendship of the Emperor for them has put a stigma on the name of the Russian Emperor and has turned away from him all honest sons of the country.

"The cup of the people's endurance was overflowing. A mighty attempt has united all citizens. On the side of the Tzar no one was found. Deserted by all and realizing his helplessness, he has abdicated from the throne for himself and his son and has turned over the inheritance to his brother, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. The latter has refused to accept the supreme power. He has acknowledged that now only the will of the people may decide the form of government and the fate of the throne. He has

asked all citizens of the Russian Empire to submit to the Provisional Government which has been created on the initiative of the Duma and which possesses complete power. In the name of duty to the country, the Provisional Government has accepted the difficult task of this rule and before the face of the people takes up the responsibility for its fate. It will perform its duties and find its strength in the realization of unity with the Duma and in the mighty support of the Russian Army, the laboring masses and the social organizations.

"The most important problem before the Provisional Government is that of calling a Constituent Assembly in the shortest possible time. This Assembly will be convened on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret balloting and will establish the fundamental laws of the future state according to the will of the people.

"Not wishing the heroic defenders of the country who are now spilling their blood on the fields of battle to abstain from participation in the elections, the Provisional Government will guarantee their participation. The Provisional Government is not called upon to decide upon all questions of law as they arise. This shall be the task of the Constituent Assembly and the legal institutions created by it. But the Provisional Government considers it its duty at present to issue a complete amnesty for all political and religious offences, to guarantee to the people the rights of civil liberty and civil equality and to introduce universal suffrage in the election of the local self-government bodies.

"But at the head of all the problems of the people there stands at present the greatest problem—that of securing a victorious termination of the war in co-operation with our glorious Allies. We, as well as they, are warring not for the extension of our borders but for the creation of a stable peace which shall correspond with the dignity of a great power and with the necessity for the fulfillment of its great national problems.

"Citizens of the Russian Empire, in the historic moment now approaching let us unite and strain all our powers to help our heroic army battling at the front. We have still before us a number of hardships and privations. Submitting to the inevitable and patiently overcoming it, we shall

remember that only by stubborn and self-denying labor, conditions of new and better life are gradually created.

"To this labor Russia is calling all of us."

But then there came a telephone call from the Duma stating that the Council of Ministers had changed the manifesto and that the final text of the appeal would be delivered tomorrow. I let the compositors go and decided to go home in order to have some sleep at least.

I went to talk it over with Boublikoff. He was very perturbed.

"Well," he said, "tomorrow Nekrassoff assumes office. He offered me the office of Assistant Minister. Nothing doing. . . . You are not supposed to know anything about it. But you must remain. I insist upon that."

"But I have a position. I am a member of the Engineering Soviet."

"Yes, and also the Chief of Experiments. No, you must remain at actual work. The Director-General will be Shubersky but the place of Assistant Minister is vacant."

"Why, then, do you refuse?"

"I cannot work with these dummies. . . . I am a man of liberty and domination. I am a boss myself and you are employed anyway. . . . Go out for a minute."

And he ran to the telephone. This was not a conversation. It was one continuous shout. The word "dummies" was mentioned often. With whom, about whom and about what he spoke I did not understand. But I have never seen Boublikoff before or since in such a rage. "Scamps, swindlers, dummies. They are sacrificing Russia. It is plain demagogy. They won't last even two months . . . everything will go to the devil. They will be turned out with shame."

"What's the matter, Alexander Alexandrovitch?"

"What's the matter? Such favoritism did not exist even in Rasputin's time . . . and then, why do you want to know all about it? Go home and forget about our last night's conversation." Thanks for your co-operation. And he heartily embraced me.

It is a strange thing. I am a man ambitious and power loving. But I felt at that time as though a heavy load had fallen from my shoulders. In a sort of ecstasy, with uplifted head, I left the Ministry and went to the station. The realization that I had

not received anything for my participation in the revolution made me happy and proud. Truly, I have never passed happier minutes in my life. My wife completely shared by happiness.

March 6th.

Arriving at the Ministry about eight o'clock, I found the text of the new manifesto which I turned over to the printing office. Here is the text:

"FROM THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

"Citizens of the Russian Empire

"The great event has happened. By a mighty outburst the Russian people have overthrown the old order. A new and free Russia has been born. The great overthrow completes the long years of struggle.

"By the Act of October 17, 1905, under the pressure of the power of the awakened people, Russia was promised Constitutional liberties but these promises were not fulfilled. The mouthpiece of the hopes of the people, the first Duma, was dissolved. The second Duma met the same fate, and unable to conquer the will of the people, the government decided in the Act of June 3, 1907, to take away the few rights the people had of participating in the legislative functions. For nine long years the people have been deprived, step by step, of all the rights that they had won. The country was again thrown into the whirlpool of autocracy. All attempts to hold the power have proved futile. The great world struggle which our country was compelled by the enemy to enter courted a condition of moral degeneration of power. Not united with the people, indifferent to the fate of the country, sunk in the shame of vice, even the heroic attempts of the army, weakened by the weight of unmerciful internal disintegration, even the call of the representatives of the people united in the face of national danger, all were powerless to induce the former Emperor and his government to unite with the people. And when Russia, due only to the unlawful and dangerous actions of its rulers, was confronted with tremendous calamities the people themselves were compelled to take the rule into their own hands. A unified revolutionary outburst of the people, conscious of the importance of the moment, and the decisiveness of the Duma have created a Provisional Govern-

ment which considers it its holy and responsible duty to bring to realization the wishes of the people and to lead the country in a free and enlightened path of civil constructiveness.

"The Government believes that the spirit of the great patriotism which showed itself in the struggle of the people with the old powers will encourage our heroic soldiers on the field of battle. The Government, as far as it is concerned, will do all in its power to guarantee our army everything necessary to carry the war to a successful termination.

"The Government will be bound to keep holy all alliances with other powers and will keep all agreements made with the Allies.

"While taking measures to defend the country from the foreign foe, the Government will at the same time consider it its first duty to open the way for the expression of the will of the people as to the form of government and will call as soon as possible, the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret balloting, guaranteeing the heroic defenders of our country who now spill their blood on the field of battle, participation in the elections. The Constituent Assembly will also issue fundamental laws guaranteeing the country the inalienable fundamental rights of equality and liberty.

"Realizing the whole weight of unlawfulness now borne by the country which sets up obstacles to the free creative impulses of the people, in this year of hardship and popular calamity the Provisional Government considers it necessary immediately even before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly to guarantee the country fundamental and stable laws, securing civil liberty and civil equality in order to allow all citizens to freely express the spiritual strength in creative work for the welfare of the land of our birth. The government will also undertake the establishment of laws guaranteeing to all citizens equal participation in the election of local self-governing bodies on the basis of universal suffrage.

"In the moment of the liberation of the people the whole country with reverence and gratitude remembers those who in the struggle for their political and religious beliefs fell victims to the vengeful old power and the Provisional Gov-

ernment will make it a joyful duty to return with honor from the places of their exile and imprisonment those who have suffered and been victimized for the welfare of the country.

"In doing this, the Provisional Government sincerely believes that it is carrying out the will of the people and that the entire population will uphold it in the honest desire to insure the happiness of Russia. In this belief it finds its courage. Only through unity and with the co-operation of the people does it see the promise for the creation of a new order.

"March 6, 1917."

Brrrrrr . . . Boublikoff rang up from his apartment.

"Dear friend, Nekrassoff has set nine o'clock in the morning as the time for the transfer of the Ministry. I will arrive later. If Dobrovolsky is not there turn over to him all rush documents."

I collected in my brief case all our projects, telegrams and the most important information that we had received from the railroads and waited for a telephone call from the Minister's apartment.

"He has arrived."

I started out.

On the way Ustrugoff caught up with me.

"Where are you going?"

"To the Minister's. And you?"

"I also. What are you going for?"

"To turn over the rush documents to him."

"I will give them to him. Do not trouble the Minister."

"I am simply carrying out the order of the Commissar," I answered and thought: "Are you, then, the Assistant Minister?"

The courier reported our arrival. We entered. Nekrassoff was joyful but at the same time confused. I turned over the documents to him.

"We will look it all up. . . ."

The courier reported the arrival of Sir George Carey, Vice President of the Canadian Pacific, who had been sent by the British as an expert for the Murmansk Railroad. A conversation through an interpreter ensued. The Minister was tangled and blundered in answering. He was uncomfortable. His rage finally turned upon the courier.

"Tea. Why have you no tea? . . . What kind of a system is this? . . . ."

"Excuse me, Your Excellency, you didn't order any."

"There should always be tea here. . . . ."

Carey and I looked at each other involuntarily. He did not understand what was the trouble. After his departure Nekrassoff at once turned to me.

"Good-bye. Tell Boublikoff that I will come in to see him before twelve to arrange the transfer and to sign a telegram."

I transmitted this order to Boublikoff and became absorbed in current work. I looked at the clock: it was about one. Boublikoff called up Nekrassoff but there was no answer. I called the Secretary of the Minister.

"The Minister has issued an order of his assumption of office and gone to the Duma. He has ordered the Assistant Minister, Ustrugoff, to be applied to in connection with current business."

Boublikoff's situation, as well as my own, was foolish. What for?

Roulevsky again insisted on a mutiny. Boublikoff at this time calmly refused to listen to him. In order to arrange our departure, I gave the following telegram to the Commissars:

"To the Commissars of the Duma, Boublikoff and Dobrovolsky. Copy Tz,* TzP,** TzN,*** and all N.**** For the information of the lines.

"On the day of your departure from the Ministry, in the name of the whole railroad family, I beg to offer thanks to Fate that in these historic days we had to work for the good of the country under your leadership. Due only to your energy, knowledge and unquestionable loyalty to the work of liberty, you were able, not only to maintain the movement of trains in the days of Revolution, but also to avoid a bloody battle in the neighborhood of Petrograd. Russia will never forget your name.

"Lomonossoff."

Boublikoff replied with the following circular telegram:

"To All N. Copy Tz, TzP and TzN.

"Yesterday Engineer Nekrassoff, Member of the Duma, entered upon his duties as Minister and thus my work as Commissar of the Duma has ended. On February 28, by

* Minister.
** Assistant Minister.
*** Director-General of Railroads.
**** Chiefs and Directors-General of Railroads.

order of the Executive Committee of the Duma, I took the Ministry by force and entered upon the formation of means to secure the uninterrupted movement of traffic as well as to prevent the use of the railroads for purposes contrary to the interests of the people and the liberation of the country. It is not for us to judge as to the importance and position of the railroad man in this work. History will do this unbiasedly and not with words of thanks do I intend to address you. Not for thanks did you work, nor for your personal interests. You consciously worked for the Fatherland. I would only like to point out to everyone, the marvelous internal discipline which the million-strong railroad army has shown in these historic days. Not only were all my orders, which were frequently unusual for railroad men accustomed to help and not to hinder operation, obeyed with two or three insignificant exceptions, wholeheartedly and without question, but even a greater thing happened: the railroads did not give in to their impulse to celebrate with the rest of the people the days of liberation and did not leave their offices, shops and lines which were covered with snow. Not for a single hour was the movement of trains stopped. Thus they proved their real patriotism. I bow low to them and leaving the place of Chief and returning again to be a private worker at my beloved railroad work, I cannot pass without mentioning—we may even say for the sake of history—the names of those who helped me in those days of mad work. Some of them did not even belong to the Ministry or belonged to Departments which did not compel them to do active work. Here are the names: Professor Lomonossoff, in the capacity of my Chief Assistant; former Assistant Ministers E. M. Borisoff and D. P. Kozireff; the Assistant Director-General, V. P. Reisler; the Chief of Expeditionary Section, A. S. Tukhin; his Assistant, P. P. Kerelin and S. M. Tiumeneff; V. S. Pavlovsky, temporarily appointed by me Chief of the Northwestern Railroad; and under my direct orders, A. M. Roulevsky, Shmuskes, G. V. Lebedeff, Engineer B. A. Perloff, Attorney E. F. Sidelnikoff; on the line, Chief of the M. V. R. Railroad, M. E. Pravosudovitch; Chief of Operation of the same railroad, Grintchuk Lukashevitch; Assistant Chief of Movements of the Northwestern Railroad, Lobanoff, telegrapher of the

Ministry on the lines. These eyes and ears of the Provisional Government in these days and the energetic company of students who bore the work of communication and many more that I can not mention. Let those that I have not mentioned forgive my forgetfulness. Let the great work they have performed give them satisfaction. Proudly we should all bear the name of railroad men. Inform on the lines.

Commissar of the Duma.

My part in the revolution had ended.

AFTERWORD

The reader will probably be interested to know what has become of some of the personalities mentioned in these memoirs.

Boublikoff went into private business and then ran away from the "Bolshevik danger" to America, where, after some hesitation, he assumed a prominent rôle in the ranks of the Russian counter-revolutionists. I myself came to America even before this. The Provisional Government sent me here. Lebedeff came with me but I am informed that he is now going over to Kolchak. Roulevsky immediately after the revolution was employed by me in the Office of Experiments and has probably kept his promise—has a second time helped to occupy the Ministry during the Bolshevik Revolution.

Rotmeister Sosnovsky soon afterward turned out to be not Sosnovsky but a fugitive criminal, Regalsky. He had certainly formerly been an officer but afterward specialized in the murder of frivolous women. During the revolution he was a prisoner in the Litovsky Castle. When the mob liberated all prisoners, he obtained somewhere the uniform of a Hussar officer and turned up at the Duma.

Ustrugoff occupied the position of Assistant Minister until the very last moment of the Bolshevik Revolution and at present has become a Minister in the Kolchak Cabinet.

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